METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 59

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
JOURNAL 59

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 59

VOLUME 59 / 2024

THE MET

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NEW YORK

EDITORIAL BOARD

Silvia Centeno
Research Scientist, Scientific Research

Sarah Lepinski
Curator, Greek and Roman Art

C. Griffith Mann
Michel David-Weill Curator in Charge of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters

Stephen C. Pinson
Curator, Photographs

Lauren Rosati
Associate Curator and Research Projects Manager, Modern and Contemporary Art

Anna Serotta
Conservator, Objects Conservation

Michael Seymour
Associate Curator, Ancient Near Eastern Art

This publication is made possible by a gift from Assunta Sommella Peluso, Ada Peluso and Romano I. Peluso, in memory of Ignazio Peluso.

Additional support is provided by The Peter Jay Sharp Foundation.

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Peter Antony, Associate Publisher for Production
Michael Sittenfeld, Associate Publisher for Editorial
Editor of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Elizabeth L. Block
Bibliography and notes edited by Jean Wagner
Production by Lauren Knighton
Designed and typeset by Tina Henderson, based on original design by Lucinda Hitchcock
Image acquisitions by Shannon Cannizzaro

Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be sent to journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org. Guidelines for contributors are given on p. 6.

Published in association with the University of Chicago Press. Individual and institutional subscriptions are available worldwide. Please direct all subscription inquiries, back issue requests, and address changes to: University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P. O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637-0005, USA. Phone: (877) 705-1878 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-3347 (international), fax: (877) 705-1879 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-0811 (international), email: subscriptions@press.uchicago.edu, website: www.journals.uchicago.edu

ISBN 978-0-226-83852-6
(University of Chicago Press)

ISSN 0077-8958 (print)
ISSN 2169-3072 (online)

Library of Congress
Catalog Card Number 68-28799

The Metropolitan Museum of Art endeavors to respect copyright in a manner consistent with its nonprofit educational mission. If you believe any material has been included in this publication improperly, please contact the Publications and Editorial Department.

Photographs of works of art in The Met's collection are by the Imaging Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, unless otherwise noted. Additional illustration credits are on p. 144.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the authors.

The authors are grateful to the peer reviewers of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* for their suggestions and assistance.

Copyright © 2024 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Typefaces: Calibre, Lyon, and Harriet
Printed on Arctic Matt, 150 gsm
Printing, binding, and color separations by Trifolio S.r.l., Verona, Italy

Front cover illustration: Aqa Buzurg Shirazi, *Prince Nasir al-Din Mirza*, 1840s. See fig. 4, p. 116.
Back cover Illustration: Follower of Bernard Palissy. Platter, last quarter of the 16th century. See fig. 1, p. 59.

Illustration on p. 2: Prayer rug, 16th century. Attributed to Iran. See fig. 1, p. 44.

Contents

ARTICLES

Women at the Altar of Jesus's Tomb in the Anastasis
ALLY KATEUSZ, 9

The Architecture of "Playe":
Henry Hamlyn's House in Tudor Exeter
MELANIE HOLCOMB, 26

Ottoman Tastemaker Robert-Sadia Pardo and a
Sixteenth-Century Prayer Rug in The Met
AYŞE ALDEMİR, 43

Wood and Stone:
Bernard Palissy's Environmental Legacy
KELLY PRESUTTI, 58

Oysters, Sauerkraut, and Pagods:
Sibylla Augusta's Chinese Banquet of 1729
KRISTEL SMENTEK AND CHRISTIAN KATSCHMANOWSKI, 73

For the Devotion of Juan Bautista de Echeverría:
Piety and Identity in Paintings by Nicolás Enríquez
RONDA KASL, 94

Imperial Threads:
Kashmiri Shawls in Nineteenth-Century Iran
NADER SAYADI, 113

RESEARCH NOTE

Julius Caesar from the Heroes Tapestries at The Met Cloisters:
Dye Analysis and Molecular Insights
RACHEL M. LACKNER, SHIRIN FOZI, KISOOK SUH, 130

MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM **JOURNAL**

Founded in 1968, the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is a double anonymous, peer-reviewed scholarly journal published annually that features original research on the history, interpretation, conservation, and scientific examination of works of art in the Museum's collection. Its scope encompasses the diversity of artistic practice from antiquity to the present day. The *Journal* encourages contributions offering critical and innovative approaches using a broad range of methodologies that will further our understanding of works of art, including their provenance, collection, and exhibition histories.

The *Journal* publishes **Articles** and **Research Notes**. Works of art from The Met collection should be central to the discussion. **Articles** contribute extensive and thoroughly argued scholarship—art historical, technical, and scientific—whereas **Research Notes** are narrower in scope, focusing on a specific aspect of new research or presenting a significant finding from technical analysis, for example. The maximum length for articles is 8,000 words (including endnotes) and 10–12 images, and for research notes 4,000 words (including endnotes) and 4–6 images.

Manuscripts are reviewed by the Editorial board of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, composed of members of the curatorial, conservation, and scientific departments, as well as scholars from the broader academic community.

To be considered for the following year's volume, the complete article must be submitted by September 15.

Manuscripts should be submitted as four separate double-spaced Word files in Times New Roman 12-point type with page numbers inserted: (1) a 200-word abstract; (2) manuscript and endnotes (no images should be embedded within the main text); (3) Word document or PDF of low-resolution images with captions and credits underneath; (4) Word document of References (see below). Please anonymize your submission for anonymous review.

For the style of captions and bibliographic references in endnotes, authors are referred to *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to Editorial Style and Procedures*, which is available from the Museum's Publications and Editorial Department upon request, and to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Please provide a Word document called "References" that lists all bibliographic citations and includes, for each title: full name(s) of author or authors; title and subtitle of book or article and periodical; place and date of publication; volume number, if any; and page, plate, and/or figure number(s). For citations in notes, please use only the last name(s) of the author or authors and the date of publication (e.g., Jones 1953, p. 65; Smith and Harding 2006, 7–10, fig. 23).

The Museum will acquire all high-resolution images and obtain English-language, world rights for print and electronic editions of the *Journal*, at no expense to authors.

Once an article or research note is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it after it has been edited and again after it has been laid out in pages. Each author receives two copies of the printed *Journal*. The *Journal* appears online at metmuseum.org/art/metpublications; journals.uchicago.edu/toc/met/current; and on JStor.

ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
MMJ Metropolitan Museum Journal

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
JOURNAL 59

Women at the Altar of Jesus's Tomb in the Anastasis

ALLY KATEUSZ

A delicately carved ivory pyxis in The Metropolitan Museum of Art depicts five women participating in an early Christian liturgy, or religious ritual. The sculptor carved two of the women swinging censers of incense on opposite sides of a small altar, and the other three with their arms raised in a procession around the side of the circular vessel (figs. 1–3). The pyxis (hereafter MMA pyxis) dates to the sixth century, as early as about 500. This article demonstrates that its scene represents the liturgy at the altar of Jesus's tomb.

Built by Constantine about 326, the shrine of Jesus's tomb was the most famous in Christendom. It was situated inside the rotunda church called the Anastasis, also known as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or the Church of the Resurrection, which still stands in

fig. 1 Pyxis with women carrying censers at an altar, 6th century. Early Byzantine. Eastern Mediterranean/ Syro-Palestinian. Elephant ivory with metalwork and paint, overall with lid 4¼ × 5 × 4¾ in. (10.8 × 12.7 × 12.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.57a, b)

Metropolitan Museum Journal, volume 59, 2024. Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with the University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1086/734017. © 2024 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

fig. 2 Back of pyxis (fig. 1) showing three women with arms raised

fig. 3 Lock plate of pyxis (fig. 1)

Jerusalem. According to Christian tradition, the tomb was cut from solid rock around the cave where Jesus's body was laid after it was taken down from the cross, and where, early Easter morning, he rose and encountered the fearless women coming to anoint his body.[1]

Ivory pyxides may have been manufactured as containers for Eucharistic bread to be taken to those who were sick and could not attend the service.[2] Sometimes they were used as reliquary boxes for the precious bones of saints.[3] The provenance of the MMA pyxis is uncertain; a 1906 Parisian auction catalogue vaguely notes, "The piece seems to have been found in Spain and to have been part, during a very remote era, of the religious furnishings of a Spanish church."[4] It was sold as part of the collection of Dimitri Schevitch, who had been the Russian ambassador to Spain, and the opacity of this description of its provenance may allude to its having been quietly excavated from the ruins of an ancient church in Spain. There is general agreement, however, that the pyxis was not made in Spain; its origin is usually assessed as Palestine or ancient Syria, or somewhere else in the eastern Mediterranean.[5]

This article first demonstrates that the two women swinging censers on the MMA pyxis represent clergy in an Easter liturgy that reprised the roles of Mary Magdalene and the other Gospel women who encountered Jesus at the empty tomb.[6] The second section proves that in shape, color, and detail, the MMA pyxis is the most accurate surviving representation of the Constantinian shrine. The last section establishes that the sculptor also depicted the three arms-raised women in the Easter liturgy.

TWO WOMEN SWINGING CENSERS

The sculptor of the MMA pyxis carved two women swinging censers on either side of the altar. Mark 16:1 and Luke 23:56 specify that the women who went to Jesus's tomb brought spices so they could anoint him, but none of the Gospels mention the women censing. Four pieces of evidence support the conclusion that the two women portrayed with censers on the MMA pyxis represented women who censed with incense during the Easter liturgy at the tomb shrine. First is an early twelfth-century liturgical manual called a *Typikon* that describes the Easter liturgy in the Anastasis with two women censing at the tomb. Second are sixth- and seventh-century pilgrim souvenirs that depict two women approaching the tomb, with one of the women swinging a censer. The third is a fifth-century manuscript of the *Six Books* Dormition narrative about the later life and death of Jesus's mother, which describes Mary burning incense in a censer at her son's tomb. The final piece of evidence is the pilgrim Egeria's late fourth-century travel diary, in which she wrote that during the Easter morning liturgy, "They take censers into the cave of the Anastasis, so that the whole Anastasis basilica is filled with the smell."[7]

Typikon

A detailed description of women with censers, called myrrhophores or myrrhbearers, censing at the tomb during the Easter liturgies in the Anastasis is in Codex Stavrou 43, a Greek liturgical manuscript dated 1122.[8] Its editor, Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, argued that it was copied from a late ninth- or early tenth-century manuscript.[9] This *Typikon* describes the liturgies for the churches of Jerusalem, including those for the late-night Saturday and early Sunday Easter services

in the Anastasis at the shrine of Jesus's tomb, which the *Typikon* calls the Holy Sepulchre.

According to the *Typikon*, after the late Saturday service before Easter, two myrrhophores remained to cense and anoint the stone shelf in the cave where Jesus's body was believed to have been laid.[10] Easter morning, the myrrhophores and other clergy changed into white vestments.[11] Valerie A. Karras writes, "The rubrics for the paschal matins service make it impossible not to understand the term 'clergy' to include the myrrhbearers,"[12] which can be gleaned in this quote:

> The doors of the church are immediately opened and the patriarch together with the clergy enters the church, chanting the "Christ is risen." The patriarch and the archdeacon immediately enter the Holy Sepulchre, these two alone, with the myrrhophores standing before the Holy Sepulchre. Then the patriarch shall come out to them and say to the women: "Rejoice: Christ is risen!" Then the myrrhophores fall at his feet and, rising, they cense the patriarch, sing the *polychronion* [hymn of acclamation for the patriarch] to him and return to the place where they customarily stand.[13]

The scene of the two myrrhophores standing before the entrance of the Holy Sepulchre and then falling at the feet of the patriarch appears to be a liturgical re-creation of Matthew 28:1–10, which describes Mary Magdalene and the other Mary at the empty tomb early Easter morning, where first an angel greeted them and then Jesus met them and they embraced his feet. Afterward he sent them to tell the frightened men that he had risen. The myrrhophores walked with the other clergy in the procession to the altar area, then stood at the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre and censed during the service, after which they reentered the cave and censed and anointed the stone shelf:

> Immediately the two deacons go with the censers, and two subdeacons with two candlesticks before them, until they enter the Bema [altar area] and stand in the middle of the solea [a raised platform at the front of the altar area]. In the same way also the two myrrhophores enter before the two deacons, having the triskellia [portable lectern] and before them two deaconesses, they also having two candlesticks and lit candles before them and thus they stand, one on the right of the life-giving Sepulchre and the other on the left. They cense until the holy Gospel has been read and then they enter the Holy (Sepulchre), cense it and anoint it.[14]

This passage specifies two deaconesses and two myrrhophores in the procession. Allie Ernst proposes that the myrrhophores may have been deaconesses who had the additional role of myrrhophore Easter services.[15] Karras provides considerable evidence of women deacons in the Eastern church, and Christian women censing during this era.[16] Women deacons were well known in the East from an early date.[17]

Pilgrim Souvenirs

Sixth- and seventh-century pilgrim souvenirs depict two women with a censer approaching the tomb with an angel opposite. Pewter ampoules for holy oil appear to have been a popular medium for this scene.[18] Raffaele Garrucci's careful drawings of these small gray ampoules (ca. 1880; figs. 4, 5) provide more detail than is easily

fig. 4 Raffaele Garrucci (Italian, 1812–1885). Drawing of Monza ampoule no. 5, reverse, ca. 1880. Photograph in Grabar 1958, pl. 11. Ampoule dated to late 6th–early 7th century. Palestine. Pewter, Diam. approx. 1⅞ in. (4.7 cm). Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza. Garrucci 1880, pl. 434, fig. 5

fig. 5 Raffaele Garrucci. Drawing of Monza ampoule no. 9, front, ca. 1880. Photograph in Grabar 1958, pl. 14. Ampoule dated to late 6th–early 7th century. Palestine. Pewter, Diam. approx. 1⅞ in. (4.7 cm). Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza. Garrucci 1880, pl. 434, fig. 6

visible in photographs. Albeit abbreviated due to their small size, the ampoules provide architectural details consistent with the latticework barrier that encircled the tomb.[19] Egeria mentioned the lattice barrier ten times when describing the liturgies at the tomb.[20] She called it *cancellus*, Latin for "a latticed barrier or grating, grille."[21] She distinguished between the latticed barrier and the tomb, which she called the "cave."

On the ampoules, the two women approach lattice gates. On some, the architecture is severely abbreviated as two double doors with a triangle above.[22] Others provide more detail, yet lack uniformity.[23] Nonetheless, almost all the ampoules portray the first woman swinging a censer.[24] Many also depict the second woman carrying a container with a lid, as is clearly shown in figure 5.[25] Perhaps this container represented the alabaster jar that three of the Gospels described in the context of a woman anointing Jesus in preparation for his death.[26] Regardless, two women carrying a censer and a jar to Jesus's tomb evokes the *Typikon*'s description of the two myrrhophores who censed and anointed there. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that in the sixth century when the ampoules began to be produced, myrrhophores were already a feature of the Easter liturgy at Jesus's tomb.

A small painting on the inside cover of the sixth-century Sancta Sanctorum box (fig. 6) helps explain why the scenes on the ampoules are identified as two women at the shrine inside the Anastasis. This painter similarly portrayed two women approaching the open doors of a metalwork enclosure. However, the artist painted the rotunda's large round roof above the scene.[27] The rotunda church of the Anastasis was not built until several years after the marble-clad shrine.[28] Before that, the decorative metal barrier would have served to protect the shrine and to manage access to it. After the Anastasis was built, the lattice barrier would have remained the first thing a pilgrim saw upon entering the rotunda. It would have been memorable, which explains why it was so frequently featured on pilgrim souvenirs.

fig. 6 Upper left section of inside lid of a wooden box, 6th century. Paint on wood, approx. 2¾ × 3⅛ in. (7 × 8 cm). Sancta Sanctorum treasure from the Lateran. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Museo Sacro (inv. 1883 A-B)

Six Books *Dormition Narrative*

The third piece of evidence to evince a long tradition of women censing at Jesus's tomb is a passage in the Old Syriac (Aramaic) *Six Books* Dormition narrative about the later life and death of Jesus's mother, Mary. The text of the oldest nearly complete *Six Books* manuscript is the lower script of a palimpsest dated to the second half of the fifth century or possibly the start of the sixth century.[29] It describes Mary visiting her son's tomb daily and burning incense in a censer.[30] This fictive scene may reflect the author's knowledge of actual women censing at the tomb. Stephen Shoemaker dates the composition of the *Six Books* to the fourth century, so it seems possible that women were censing at the shrine from the time it was consecrated.[31]

Egeria's Travel Diary

Lastly, the pilgrim Egeria wrote in her late fourth-century travel diary about the censing at the tomb during the Easter morning service in the Anastasis. Her account, though much shorter, is consistent with what the *Typikon* described regarding the two myrrhophores. She wrote, "They take censers into the cave of the Anastasis, so that the whole Anastasis basilica is filled with the smell."[32] Yet the text of the sole surviving manuscript with Egeria's diary, the eleventh-century Codex Aretinus 405, does not specify the gender of the clergy who did the censing. Perhaps Egeria did not specify their gender because everyone knew the myrrhophores were women. But the codex has significant gaps and omissions, and another possibility is that during the seven centuries that passed between when Egeria wrote her diary and when Codex Aretinus 405 was penned, a copyist redacted the scene.[33] Indeed, later copyists redacted *Six Books* scenes of Mary and other women using a censer.[34] For example, as mentioned above, the text of the oldest *Six Books* manuscript, the palimpsest, describes Mary burning incense in a censer at her son's tomb. A later copyist preserved Mary bringing incense, but omitted the censer.[35] Yet another redacted both censer and incense, but kept the fragrant smell. A third cut everything to do with incense at Jesus's tomb, even its scent.[36] It is thus plausible that during the seven-hundred-year manuscript tradition of Egeria's diary, one or more scribes, uncomfortable with the idea of women using censers, simply omitted them.

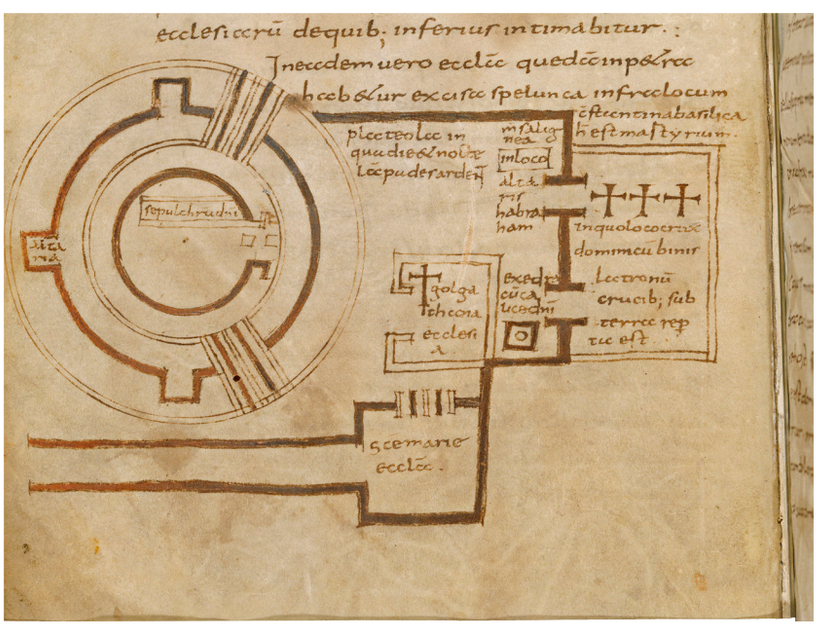

fig. 7 Arculf's drawing of the floor plan of the Anastasis and nearby monuments, 9th century. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 9th century MS lat. 13048, fol. 4v.

Given the evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that the two figures at the altar on the MMA pyxis represented women clergy censing at Jesus's tomb during the Easter liturgy, the holiest day of the early Christian year. The next section will show that the sculptor of the MMA pyxis accurately depicted the shrine behind the lattice barrier.

CONSTANTINIAN SHRINE

The Constantinian shrine was destroyed in the year 1009, and its original appearance remains a mystery. Despite its fame, or perhaps because of it, many artists and writers did not describe its every detail, knowing that due to its prominence their audience would recognize the shrine. In addition, most art that depicts the Constantinian shrine, such as the ampoules, are small with highly compressed scenes, inviting abbreviation and creative license. Given the variety of representations, some artists must have only heard about the shrine, but never seen it. It has been left to modern historians to sort out the puzzle.[37]

The fine detail in the MMA pyxis is consistent with what we know about the tomb shrine. For example, archaeologists Shimon Gibson and Joan E. Taylor's report of the last excavations at the Anastasis states that three steps led up to the entrance of the shrine, which corresponds to the three steps on the MMA pyxis.[38] Egeria said that the veils and curtains in the Anastasis were made of striped silk.[39] Although she did not specify their location, we know from the Syriac *Testamentum Domini* that curtains were required for church altars, so the striped curtains flanking the altar on the MMA pyxis could correspond to those that Egeria mentioned.[40] The columns carved around the pyxis are also consistent with the written record. Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339) reported that Constantine had embellished the tomb with special columns, and the pilgrim Bernard the Monk (fl. ca. 870) counted nine columns around the tomb, adding, "Of these nine columns, four are in front of the tomb itself."[41] The MMA pyxis also has nine columns, four of them in front.

The four spiral columns on the front of the MMA pyxis are part of what is called the ciborium, the structure holding up the striped canopy above the altar. The columns are set in the shape of a half-hexagon, with the two back columns set farther apart than the front two, which frame the altar. Interestingly, square ciboria were common, but half-hexagon ciboria were rare over altars.[42] Beneath the ciborium, the sculptor carved a tripod altar table. The similarity between the spiral columns of the ciborium and the spiral legs of the altar table suggests that the table, like the columns, was made of stone. A book with an "X" on its cover, probably representing a Gospel book, rests on the table.[43] A large lamp hangs above it.

Egeria did not discuss the altar in the Anastasis nor that of any other church in Jerusalem except the altar in the martyrium.[44] The first author to expressly describe the altar at the tomb was the so-called Anonymous Jerusalem Pilgrim, about 530.[45] The Piacenza Pilgrim, about 570 CE, also detailed the tomb, and likewise said that an altar was placed in front of it.[46] The pilgrim Arculf, about 680, reported that the stone, which according to the Gospels had closed the entrance to the cave, had been split into two altars, with the smaller of the two, a four-sided [*quadrangulum*] altar, placed before the mouth of the tomb.[47] Bede (ca. 673–735), who knew Arculf was a bishop, wrote the same description, and the pilgrim Bernard the Monk, while discussing the four columns at the front of the tomb, said Bede's delineation was accurate.[48]

The oldest known floor plan of the Anastasis is a drawing made by Arculf, subsequently reproduced by copyists, unfortunately each with slightly different detail. Paul Geyer argued that a ninth-century copy of the drawing (fig. 7) was the most accurate, and rejected as "embellished" the one Martin Biddle later chose for his 1999 book, *The Tomb of Christ*.[49] There are similarities across all copies, however. Each preserves a series of concentric circles representing the floor plan of the Anastasis. The number of circles is always at least four. Arculf said that the tomb was "a round domed structure," and the innermost circle had an opening marked

fig. 8 Front of a pyxis depicting an altar area, 6th century. Eastern Mediterranean. Elephant ivory, overall 3⅜ × 5 in. (8.5 × 12.7 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (1951.114)

by two small extrusions and faced east, the direction he said the cave-tomb faced, which is still the case.[50] A rectangle inside this circle (usually labeled "sepulchrum") indicates the stone shelf upon which Jesus's body was thought to have been laid, and it is on the north wall, the same wall where the shelf is today. The two outermost circles seem to represent the thick walls of the rotunda, drawn with three small apses inset. This leaves a circle between the thick walls and the cave-tomb, perhaps representing the metal lattice barrier that encircled the tomb. The corridor between the lattice barrier and the tomb could have been used for liturgical processions, like the procession of women sculpted around the MMA pyxis.

As noted above, various pilgrims reported that an altar stood in front of the cave-tomb, and Arculf and Bede further specified that it was the smaller of the two altars made from the famous stone. All copies of Arculf's floor plan illustrate two squares or two rectangles, one at the entrance to the cave, and the other closer to the east wall of the rotunda, where Arculf and Bede said the larger of the two altars stood.[51] Although Arculf apparently did not describe a ciborium, the two extrusions drawn at the entrance of the tomb could signify the structure of one above the altar, extended slightly past the wall of the round tomb. In that case, the small square at the mouth of the tomb and the altar carved beneath the ciborium on the MMA pyxis could represent the same altar. If so, then the entrance into the tomb would have been situated behind the striped curtains on either side of the altar, which would have been pulled open or closed depending upon the dramatic moment in the liturgy.[52]

The shape of the tomb is usually deemed polygonal or round, as seen in Arculf's diagram. On a round edifice a half-hexagon ciborium would have been more proportional and aesthetically pleasing than a square one, which would have jutted out. The sculptor of the MMA pyxis depicted a beautiful half-hexagon ciborium that abuts its round white wall.

Remarkably, another ivory pyxis, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, also depicts a half-hexagon ciborium above an altar (fig. 8). This pyxis is thought to have been part of the treasure of the church of Saint André-le-Bas in Vienna, where in 1612 it was a reliquary for the jawbone of a saint.[53] The architecture of the altar areas on these two pyxides is so similar that Archer

St. Clair says, "The most significant difference between the Metropolitan and Cleveland pyxides is the introduction of a cross behind or upon the altar in the latter."[54] On both, the four columns of the ciborium are spiral and form a half-hexagon; the altar is a tripod table with spiral legs and a lamp above; and the curtains have horizontal stripes. Both have three long curved steps with similar segmentation that lead up to the altar area. The Cleveland pyxis, however, does not depict the liturgy; the two men seen on either side of its altar area are facing away, part of the Gospel scenes that encircle the rest of the vessel. Both sculptors, however, preserved the incense burning on either side of the altar: the MMA pyxis depicts two women swinging censers, while the Cleveland pyxis shows what appear to be two thymiateria, a type of censer on a stand with an open top for a large lump or cone of incense.[55] Despite minor differences, the architecture and furnishings of the altar area seen on both pyxides is so similar and so unusual (especially the half-hexagon ciboria) that it seems highly likely both ivory sculptors rendered the same altar area. Multiple representations, especially on items as expensive as ivory pyxides, suggest a famous and sacred site like the tomb shrine inside the Anastasis.

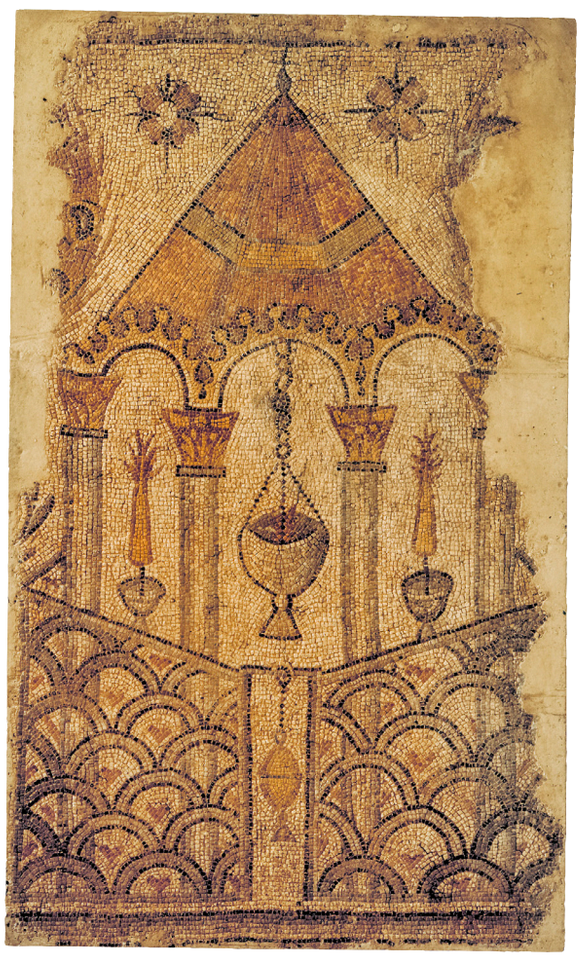

fig. 9 Fragment of floor mosaic, ca. 6th century. Origin unknown, most likely from an early Byzantine church in the Near East, possibly ancient Syria. H. approx. 7 ft. (2.15 m). National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen (inv. 15.137)

A seven-foot-long fragment of a floor mosaic that uncontroversially represents the shrine may help elucidate its architecture (fig. 9).[56] The mosaic is dated about the sixth century and is believed to have originated in the Near East, perhaps ancient Syria.[57] Its large size permitted a detailed illustration of the latticework barrier that encircled the tomb—a double-winged design with small red hearts. Here we see the ornate double gates, a small censer hanging between them. The mosaic depicts four columns. The outer two are set farther back, indicating a half-hexagon ciborium structure, a shape emphasized by the angles of the gold band around the three sections of its red canopy. This ciborium appears to abut a white wall decorated with two rosettes, much as the ciboria on the two pyxides abut white walls. A large lamp, like the lamp hanging above the altar on the MMA pyxis, hangs from the midpoint of the mosaic ciborium. Two thymiateria stand on either side, and their tops, which are almost all that can be seen before the lattice begins, look similar to the tops of the two thymiateria that flank the altar on the Cleveland pyxis. On the mosaic, however, what appears to be a tall cone of tan-colored incense is affixed above each stand, smoke or flames emanating from its tip.[58] Other markers on the mosaic such as the striped curtains or tripod altar may have been omitted due to the difficulty in this medium of illustrating details behind the ornate lattice barrier, which also could account for why the mosaic artist did not include the rest of the bases of the two thymiateria.

Finally, the MMA pyxis has significant points of contact with the fragmentary Narbonne model that is considered an important representation of the shrine behind the lattice barrier (fig. 10). However, as Biddle says: "there is reason to believe that this may be a relatively crude and architecturally uncanonical version."[59] Both the MMA pyxis and the Narbonne model display a round tomb with nine columns, four of which are in the front and compose a ciborium-type structure.[60] On the Narbonne model, the four front columns and almost all the rest of the ciborium structure are missing, but the four column bases form a rectangle, suggesting that its sculptor visualized a common square ciborium. The half-hexagon ciborium sculpted on the MMA and Cleveland pyxides is much more architecturally balanced. The only known architectural element that is on the Narbonne model but not on the pyxides is the cornice above the tomb, the omission of which may be due to the way the pyxides were manufactured, from slices

fig. 10 The Narbonne model. Marble fragment of a three-dimensional sculpture used to illustrate Jesus's tomb. Dated before the 10th century, possibly as early as the 5th century. Pyrenean marble, H. 48⅞ in. (124 cm). Musée Narbo Via, Narbonne, France

of elephant tusk.[61] The MMA pyxis itself appears to preserve the most detailed and accurate surviving representation of the shrine and its altar area, as well as of the Easter liturgy that took place there.

In 1923, Adolph Goldschmidt cited Arculf's description of the altar at Jesus's tomb and concluded that the altar on the MMA pyxis depicted the altar at the tomb.[62] More than fifty years later, however, in two publications related to The Met's 1977–78 exhibition *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century,* Archer St. Clair and Margaret E. Frazer rejected Goldschmidt's conclusion. In an issue of *Gesta* dedicated to the exhibition, St. Clair argued that the sculptor of the MMA pyxis did not depict a scene at Jesus's tomb in the Anastasis, but a scene in some other Palestinian or Syrian church, and Frazer, in her article on the pyxis for the exhibition catalogue, briefly said the same.[63] Both cited as their main reason the fact that the MMA pyxis did not have the grille seen on depictions of the shrine on pilgrim ampullae and the Sancta Sanctorum box.[64] The absence of the grille on the MMA pyxis, however, is entirely explainable if the pyxis, like the Narbonne model, rendered the marble-clad shrine *behind* the latticed barrier. St. Clair added another reason, that the pyxis had prominent steps "and none of the representations or pilgrims' descriptions depicts the shrine itself as approached by steps."[65] St. Clair was incorrect. Seven years earlier John Wilkinson had proposed that holes bored into the front of the Narbonne model indicated that originally it had a short flight of steps, and that is how he illustrated the shrine in his influential reconstruction of the Narbonne model.[66] In addition, an illustration of the shrine without a grille and with prominent steps is in one of a series of mosaic panels that depict Gospel scenes in the Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna where, when portraying the two Marys at the tomb, the artist illustrated the tomb as a domed structure with four columns, long curved steps, and no grille.[67] It is known, however, that the Cleveland pyxis, which St. Clair also discussed in detail, like the MMA pyxis, has prominent steps and no grille, and it is unlikely that both ivory sculptors would have carved the altar of an obscure church instead of the one at the famous tomb inside the Anastasis, just as Goldschmidt concluded.

Perhaps most surprising, St. Clair and Frazer further argued that the altar carved on the MMA pyxis was not meant to show an actual altar, and that the artist had substituted it for the tomb of Christ. They pointed to the fact that in the East the altar was sometimes called the tomb of Christ because his metaphorical flesh and blood (bread and wine) were laid upon it.[68] With this rationale St. Clair referred to "the substitution of altar for tomb," while Frazer wrote, "substituting an altar for the actual tomb."[69] Yet if the sculptor had intended to render a tomb instead of an altar, he or she could have portrayed two women approaching a sarcophagus beneath a ciborium structure, as seen in the mosaic in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and on the Sitten pyxis, which St. Clair also described.[70] To my knowledge, art historians have never suggested that any other altar was substituted for Jesus's tomb—only this altar, flanked by two women swinging censers and three arms-raised women processing toward it. The interpretive problem in 1979 seems to have been that the sculptor carved women instead of men. In any case, St. Clair determined that the nearly identical altar on the Cleveland pyxis was indeed an altar.[71]

THREE WOMEN WITH ARMS RAISED

Around the side and back of the MMA pyxis the sculptor carved three women with arms raised (fig. 2). Women in this orant pose are often interpreted in early Christian art as simply praying, but Alexei Lidov notes that in iconographic studies the pose is considered liturgical. He cites John Chrysostom paraphrasing Psalm 140: "My prayer is rising up as incense before You; I am raising my hands as the Evening Sacrifice."[72] In another example, Eusebius of Caesarea described a dreamlike liturgy for a church dedication in Tyre that included censing with incense and raising hands at the altar.[73]

Further confirming the liturgical quality of women's raised hands, the two oldest surviving artifacts that depict people at a church altar include men and women with raised hands. The first is an ivory reliquary box showing the liturgy inside Old Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome (fig. 11).[74] The second is a limestone chancel screen that portrays the liturgy inside the Great Church in Constantinople, also known as the second Hagia Sophia, which burned during Justinian's reign and was replaced with the third and last Hagia Sophia, still standing today.[75] Both artists portrayed gender parallelism at the altar, with arms-raised men on the left and arms-raised women on the right.

The ivory reliquary box is likely the older of the two, usually dated from the late 300s to mid-400s. It was unearthed beneath the altar area of a Roman-era church near Pola, Croatia, in 1906, and immediately recognized as having extraordinary value for our understanding of the early Christian liturgy.[76] Its altar stands beneath a half-hexagon ciborium with spiral columns, possibly designed to mirror the one at Jesus's tomb, thereby linking the sacrality of Jerusalem to Rome, and the sacrality of Jesus to Peter.[77] Three men are depicted to the left of the altar and three women on the right; the two outermost men and women on each side have their arms raised, and in the center, beneath the half-hexagon ciborium, a man and a woman each appear to be raising something on opposite sides of the altar. There has never been any debate that the three people on the right are women, in part because they are veiled and in part because scenes of men on the left and women on the right in a church environment are on two other sides of the box.[78]

In addition, for several decades there was no debate that the man and the woman in the center were at a church altar.[79] The six spiral columns of the ciborium, however, look like the six spiral columns that Constantine donated for the ciborium in Old Saint Peter's Basilica, spiral columns preserved today in the wings of the huge modern basilica. When World War II broke out, the ivory reliquary box was taken to Italy for safekeeping. Soon afterward, Vatican excavators began to dig under the modern basilica's high altar, and several layers below they came upon the second-century shrine of Saint Peter.[80] The size and shape of the eight-foot-square wall of the shrine, its stone table, and the semicircular arch behind it matched the details on the ivory and were determined to be one and the same.[81] Below the stone table the excavators discovered a tomb they thought was Peter's, aligning with a long-held tradition that the altar in Old Saint Peter's had been above Peter's tomb, a tradition originating with two ancient witnesses, Jerome (d. 420) and Gregory of Tours (ca. 538–594).[82] Gregory of Tours even described pilgrims lowering a cloth below the altar to touch Peter's bones, a practice explaining the two doors carved beneath the altar on the ivory reliquary box.[83] The sculptor, however, had depicted a woman at the altar. And the Vatican embarked upon an extraordinary effort to claim that the original altar in Old Saint Peter's must have been a portable table. Recently, however, new research has exposed this decades-old effort to obscure the history of women in the liturgy at Old Saint Peter's Basilica.[84]

The second artifact that portrays arms-raised people flanking an altar is a carved slab of limestone found

fig. 11 Reliquary box (back) with liturgical scene, late 4th–mid-5th century. Discovered below the altar area of a Roman-era church in Samagher, near Pola, Croatia. Probably Constantinople or Italy. Ivory over wood core, 7½ × 7⅞ × 6¼ in. (19 × 20 × 16 cm). Archaeological Museum, Venice

inside a large underground tomb structure excavated in Istanbul in 1988 (fig. 12). Most likely this limestone carving was originally part of the chancel screen in the Great Church in Constantinople, but it was reused as the oversized front of a sarcophagus.[85] On the left side of the altar the sculptor portrayed a man with his arms raised and on the right side a woman with her arms raised, a boy next to her. Johannes G. Deckers and Umit Serdaroğlu noted that the column capitals identified the scene as inside the Great Church, which was known to have the same type of capitals, and based on several other factors, such as the style of the bulb clasp on the man's shoulder and the early Christian cross on the altar, they dated it closely, between the years 415 and 434.[86] Their dating corresponds to the consecration of the Great Church in 415. Sozomen (ca. 400–450) tells that the Augusta, Pulcheria, who was regent for her younger brother, consecrated an altar made of gold and gemstones in the Great Church in front of all the priests and people.[87] His history cuts off, but the *Letter to Cosmas* continues it, saying that Pulcheria was accustomed to standing in the Holy of Holies with her brother during the Eucharist, a practice consistent with the scene on the limestone chancel screen. In early April of 428, however, the new patriarch, Nestorius, came to Constantinople, and on Easter morning he met Pulcheria at the door to the Holy of Holies and prevented her from entering.[88] Pulcheria set about having him overthrown, and in 431 the Council of Ephesus exiled him.

Significant evidence indicates that the gender parallelism of the liturgy seen on the ivory reliquary box and the limestone chancel screen most likely originated in similar religious practices of some Second Temple Jews. Tentative evidence of such rituals is in some Dead Sea Scrolls.[89] The most detailed evidence is from the early first-century writer Philo of Alexandria, who described the gender-parallel ritual of a Jewish community he called the Therapeutae.[90] According to Philo, Jews in many regions around the Mediterranean were experts in the philosophy of the Therapeutae and would travel to its double monastery of men and women near Alexandria.[91] He described one of their all-night sacred rituals, which took place in a gender-divided room with male and female choirs, and two leaders, a man and a woman, who represented the prophets Moses and Miriam.[92] At different times during the night the Therapeutae raised their arms.[93] Their ritual re-created the Jerusalem Temple, complete with special bread, libation, and an altar table.[94] Enrico Mazza says, "The Therapeutae had a specifically priestly conception of their community, and this in turn had a direct impact on their conception of worship: the meal and prayer were assimilated to the sacrifices in the Temple."[95] To this Taylor adds, "Both men and women saw themselves not only as attendants or suppliants, but as priests in this Temple."[96]

Further suggesting that the gender-parallel ritual of the Therapeutae influenced that of the early churches, Eusebius of Caesarea insisted that Christian ritual traditions came from the Therapeutae.[97] He said the churches of his day still practiced the rituals of the Therapeutae, including their separate places for men and women.[98] Consistent with Eusebius's claim, only fifteen miles from Caesarea, where he was bishop, the oldest church ruins in Israel, those of the third-century "Megiddo Church," preserve the stone stump of its table between two mosaics, one of which names only women, while the mosaic on the opposite side of the table names a man.[99] This arrangement suggests a gender-parallel ritual at the table, which would seem to corroborate Eusebius's claim.

On the ivory reliquary box the men and women with their arms raised have mouths open, as if singing.[100] Thus, the liturgy for the annual all-night commemoration of Peter in Old Saint Peter's Basilica may have resembled the Therapeutae's overnight ritual, not only their gender-divided sanctuary and male and female leaders, but also their choirs, whom Philo said raised their arms when the sun rose.[101]

It seems likely that some synagogues continued to practice Second Temple rituals. Bernadette J. Brooten documented first- through fifth-century Jewish epigraphs of women remembered with titles corresponding to those of male synagogue leaders, like "mother of the synagogue," "head of the synagogue," "priestess," and "presbutera."[102] "Presbutera" could signify an "elder" in Greek, but during this time its masculine form, "presbuteros," was used interchangeably with "bishop" and "priest."[103] Presbutera, thus, may have been closer in meaning to "head of the synagogue" or "priestess." These synagogue titles for Jewish women were geographically widespread, found in Palestine, Egypt, ancient Greece, and Rome, as well as other areas.[104]

This material evidence is crucial for reconstructing the roles of women in the early Jewish and Christian liturgy, especially since there is an almost complete loss of corresponding manuscripts until the eighth century.[105] When they appear, these eighth-century liturgical manuscripts "have a specious similarity . . . written in similar scripts and on similar writing materials."[106] The iconographic artifacts, preserved underground for

fig. 12 Silivrikapi tomb. Chancel screen, second Hagia Sophia, ca. 430. Limestone relief, 43 × 78 in. (110 × 200 cm). Istanbul Archaeological Museums

centuries, evince nearly lost liturgical traditions and the roles of women, which, when combined, suggest a long "parting of the ways" between some streams of early Christianity and Judaism.[107]

The MMA pyxis, the ivory reliquary box, and the limestone chancel screen are the three oldest iconographic artifacts to portray people at a church altar. For example, Melchizedek at an altar, such as in the wall mosaic in San Vitale in Ravenna (ca. 550), is excluded not only because of its late date, but also because while the mosaic was installed inside a church, it represents an altar from Hebrew scripture, not a church altar.[108] Another exclusion is a fragmentary fourth-century mosaic in Agios Georgios in Thessaloniki that depicts a celestial scene of a square object with legs beneath a ciborium with two arms-raised male saints flanking it. In 1963, Hjalmar Torp identified it as an altar[109]—which St. Clair mentioned in her 1979 article about the MMA pyxis[110]—but Torp, writing with Bente Kiilerich in 2017, subsequently identified it as a "finely adorned chair," aligning with other art historians.[111] Also excluded is the lost fifth-century mosaic in the apse of the Ravenna church of San Giovanni Evangelista. Its description, which includes a pair of unnamed individuals at the altar, plus two imperial couples flanking them, has been variously interpreted[112]—and it probably deserves yet one more interpretation given the similar composition on the ivory reliquary box. The final exclusions are two large, nearly identical silver platters, or patens, for serving Eucharistic bread, both firmly dated with tax stamps between 574 and 578.[113] They were manufactured much later than the ivory reliquary box and the limestone chancel screen, and most likely later than the MMA pyxis dated to the sixth century, as early as about 500.[114] However, the platters are further excluded because of their innovative iconography, called the Communion of the Apostles. Both depict two Jesuses standing almost joined at the hip behind a cloth-covered table beneath a ciborium—one serving bread and the other serving wine. The scene is a fictive re-creation of the Last Supper as if it had taken place five hundred years later in a Byzantine church. The strange double-Jesus was perhaps intended as visual propaganda to undermine the older tradition of both a man and a woman at the altar.

Thus, the MMA pyxis, the ivory reliquary box, and the limestone chancel screen preserve the very oldest artistic representations of people at a church altar. The MMA pyxis itself is the oldest to portray only one gender at a church altar, and also the oldest to depict anyone with a censer at a church altar.[115] Finally, the three artifacts portray arms-raised women at or near the altar, demonstrating that for both women and men it was a liturgical pose.

A final detail on the MMA pyxis indicates that its sculptor carved all five of the women as clergy in the Eucharistic liturgy, and that is the doubled strip of cloth hanging below their girdles. The doubled white cloth was called the *enchiron* (later the epigonation) in the East and the *mappula* (later the maniple) in the West.[116] Lidov refers to the "Eucharistic handkerchief."[117] Clergy used this cloth to wipe the rim of the chalice and collect crumbs, and its inclusion in the Eucharistic liturgy appears to have become common by the sixth century, at least as witnessed in art.[118] For example, three women

fig. 13 Section of mosaic on right side of the altar in San Vitale, Ravenna, ca. 550

are illustrated with the cloth in one of the two gender-parallel wall mosaics flanking the altar in San Vitale in Ravenna, installed about 550.[119] The mosaic on the right of the altar depicts Augusta Theodora lifting a large gold chalice to her right and three women with the doubled cloth, two with it hanging below their girdles and the third holding it in her hand (fig. 13). Lidov points out an eleventh-century wall painting in Old Saint Clement Basilica in Rome that depicts Clement performing the Eucharist while raising the doubled cloth in one hand the same way that the woman holds it in the San Vitale mosaic.[120] Lidov says, "let me remind those who are convinced of the lay provenance of the handkerchief that Theodora with her retinue, as well as Justinian, are presented in San Vitale in a liturgical procession in the sanctuary, both holding liturgical vessels—the Chalice and the Paten."[121] Most likely there was an early tradition of both men and women using the cloth.[122]

The three arms-raised women sculpted on the MMA pyxis may have represented women deacons, whom the *Typikon* mentions. Considering, however, that the *Typikon*'s manuscript was penned six centuries after the pyxis was sculpted and that scribes during this period redacted descriptions of women using censers, it seems possible that originally women performed more of the ecclesial roles in the Easter liturgy at the Anastasis than is preserved in the *Typikon*. In any case, the carving on the MMA ivory pyxis indicates that five centuries earlier, women were more dominant in the liturgy.

The MMA pyxis, the ivory reliquary box, and the limestone chancel screen depict women at the altars of some of the most important churches in the Roman Empire. The churches, in Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople, modeled the liturgy for lesser churches around the Mediterranean, so we may reasonably conclude that their liturgies were recorded in now lost manuscripts. The MMA ivory pyxis is a treasure from that early time. It is the very oldest iconographic artifact to depict just one sex at an altar, and in addition, more than any other surviving artifact or piece of art, it preserves the shape, color, and details of the Constantinian monument known as Jesus's tomb. Given the historical context, iconographic evidence, archaeological evidence, and artistic choices, we can conclude that the sculptor of the MMA pyxis carved women clergy in the liturgy at Jesus's tomb. Instead of "The Women at Jesus's Tomb," which suggests solely the Gospel stories, this ivory pyxis more informatively can be titled "The Women at the Altar of Jesus's Tomb in the Anastasis."

ALLY KATEUSZ
Senior Research Associate, Wijngaards Institute for Catholic Research, London

NOTES

1 See the following sections of the Bible: Mt 27:55–28:10; Mk 15.40–16:10; Lk 23:49–24:10; Jn 19:25–20:18.
2 St. Clair 1979, 132.
3 Mütherich 1959, 204.
4 "La pièce semble bien avoir été trouvée en Espagne et avoir fait partie, dès une époque très reculée, du mobilier religieux d'une église espagnole;" Schevitch sale 1906, 16.
5 Frazer 1979, 581; Teteriatnikov 2016, 169; Bhalla 2018, 214.
6 For the Gospel women, see Mt 28:1–10; Mk 16:1–10; Lk 24:1–11; Jn 20:1–18.
7 Egeria, *Itin.* 24.10; Kelley 2019, 181 [Lat. and Eng.].
8 For the Greek edition, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 1–261.
9 Ibid., iii. For details about the dating, see Ernst 2009, 153n18.
10 Ernst 2009, 153–54.
11 Ibid., 154; Karras 2005, 112.
12 Karras 2005, 112.
13 Ernst 2009, 154 [Eng.]; Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 191 [Gk.].
14 Ernst 2009, 154–55 [Eng.]; Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 199 [Gk.].
15 Ernst 2009, 155.
16 Karras 2004; Karras 2005 (censing).
17 Martimort 1986, 35–58; Eisen 2000, 158–62; Madigan and Osiek 2005, 25–132; Bäbler and Fantalkin 2023, 107.
18 For photographs of the large collections of ampoules in the Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza and the Museo della città di Bobbio, which are representative of those in smaller collections, see Grabar 1958.
19 For the metalwork barrier, see Gibson and Taylor 1994, 77.
20 Egeria, *Itin.* 24.2 (twice), 24.3 (twice), 24.4, 24.5, 24.8, 24.10, 25.3 (twice), 34.1 (twice), 38.2, 47.1; for the Latin of Egeria's travels and English translation, see Kelley 2019, 180–85. Justin Kelley usually translates *cancellus* as "screen"; McGowan and Bradshaw 2018 as "enclosure"; and Wilkinson 2006 as "railed area."
21 Glare 1985, 264.
22 Grabar 1958, Monza ampoules nos. 2, 6, 8, 11, Bobbio no. 18.
23 Ibid., Monza ampoules nos. 5, 14, 15, Bobbio nos. 6, 15.
24 Ibid., Monza ampoules nos. 3, 5, 6, 8–15, Bobbio nos. 3, 4, 6, 15, 18. See also Garrucci 1880, pls. 433–35.
25 Grabar 1958, Monza ampoules nos. 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, Bobbio none (due to poor condition). See also Garrucci 1880, pls. 433–35.
26 Mt 26:7; Mk 14:3; Lk 7:37.
27 A far less detailed but similar wide curved roof is suggested above the shrine on a small number of ampoules. See Grabar 1958, Bobbio ampoule no. 15, and Biddle 1999, 23, fig. 18 (Dumbarton Oaks, 48.18).
28 Gibson and Taylor 1994, 77.
29 Lewis 1902, x. *Six Books* specialists generally support Lewis's fifth-century dating; Kateusz 2019, 26.
30 Lewis 1902, 20; for the passage charted against the same passage in two later manuscripts, see Kateusz 2020, fig. 14.3.
31 For Shoemaker's conservative dating of the *Six Books*, see Shoemaker 2023, 8; other scholars have dated it earlier.
32 Egeria, *Itin.* 24.10; Kelley 2019, 181 [Lat. and Eng.].
33 Wilkinson 2006, 1; and Anne McGowan and Paul Bradshaw (2018, 3) remark that the beginning and ending of Egeria's diary are missing. John Wilkinson (2006, 3–4) cites medieval writers who noted excerpts from Egeria's diary that are missing from Aretinus 405. Wilkinson (2006, 144, 146) notes the text as "INCOMPLETE" where individual folios are missing at 24.7 and 25.6, as does McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 156n6 at 25.6, which includes part of Egeria's description of the usual Sunday services in Jerusalem churches.
34 Several examples of later copyists redacting scenes where Mary and other women are described with censers are charted in Kateusz 2020, 190–94, figs. 14.3 and 14.4; note that figs. 14.1 and 14.2 in ibid., 185–90, demonstrate that over time in iconography as well, censers were removed from women and given to men.
35 Shoemaker 2023, 181.
36 Kateusz 2020, 190–94, fig. 14.3.
37 The MMA pyxis has heretofore been overlooked in this effort. For example, it is not considered in Wilkinson 1972 or Biddle 1999.
38 Gibson and Taylor 1994, 77.
39 Egeria, *Itin.* 25.8. Kelley 2019 does not include this passage. Egeria's description was for the celebrations during Epiphany, but at 39.1 and 49.3, Egeria said that the Anastasis was decorated the same way during Easter week.
40 *Testament of Our Lord* 19; St. Clair 1979, 130.
41 Bernard Monachus, *Itin.*; Kelley 2019, 202 [Lat., Eng.].
42 A review of the many images of ancient ciboria, or canopies, in Bogdanović 2017 demonstrates how common square ciboria were over altars, and the rarity of half-hexagon ones.
43 St. Clair 1979, 130; Schevitch sale 1906, 122.
44 Egeria, *Itin.* 46.5; Kelley 2019, 184 [Lat.], 185 [Eng.]. Egeria, however, may have alluded to the altar in the Anastasis when she paralleled the consecration of the Anastasis to Solomon's consecration of the Temple, after which, she said, "Solomon also . . . stood before the altar of God and prayed"; see Egeria, *Itin.* 48; McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 193–94. (Kelley does not include this passage.)
45 *Brevarius de Hierosolyma*; Kelley 2019, 187 [Lat., Eng.].
46 Antoninus Martyr, *Locorum sanctorum* 18; Kelley 2019, 188 [Lat.], 189 [Eng.].
47 *Pilgrimage of Arculfus* 1.3.1. For the English translation see MacPherson 1895, 8–9. Kelley (2019, 196 [Lat., Eng.]) seems to have conflated the rotunda with "the round domed structure" of the shrine (1.2.6–7), most likely because he did not translate (or overlooked) Arculf's *tegorii/tegorium*. For the stone in the Gospels, see Mt 27:60, 28:2; Mk 15:46, 16:3–4; Lk 24:2; Jn 20:1.
48 Bede, *De locis sanctis*; Kelley 2019, 199 [Lat.], 200 [Eng.]. Bernard Monachus, *Itin.*; Kelley 2019, 202 [Lat., Eng.].
49 Geyer 1898, xxxix; for Biddle's copy of the floor plan, see Biddle 1999, pl. 25, and for two more copies, see Wikipedia, "Church of the Holy Sepulchre," accessed September 26, 2023, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_the_Holy_Sepulchre.
50 *Pilgrimage of Arculfus* 1.2.6–7; Kelley 2019, 192 [Lat.], 193–94 [Eng.].
51 *Pilgrimage of Arculfus* 1.3.1; Kelley 2019, 196 [Lat. and Eng.]. On Kelley's translation, see note 47 above. Bede, *De locis sanctis*; Kelley 2019, 199 [Lat.], 200 [Eng.].
52 St. Clair 1979, 130.
53 Mütherich 1959, 204.
54 St. Clair 1979, 132. While both ciboria have four columns and three arches, the canopy on the Cleveland pyxis has only one section while the MMA has three, suggesting that the sculptor of the Cleveland pyxis either represented only the large center canopy section or elided the three.
55 For illustrations of the stands and the different ways that incense was burned upon them, see the plates at the back of Wigand 1912, esp. some of the images on plates III and IV. A good photograph is in Miner and Ross 1947, 67, no. 271, pl. XLIII.

St. Clair (1979, 131) also deems these as thymiateria on the Cleveland pyxis.

56 Trolle and Pentz 1983, 97; Biddle 1999, 25.

57 Trolle and Pentz 1983, fig. 1; Biddle 1999, 25, fig. 23.

58 Steffen Trolle and Peter Pentz (1983, 112) consider these to be a torch, but given the similarity of the bases to those on the Cleveland pyxis, it seems reasonable to conclude that they refer to the same type of object.

59 Biddle 1999, 69, and, for a photograph of it, 21, fig. 16. For a drawing of three views of the Narbonne fragment, see Wilkinson 1972, 95, fig. 13.

60 See reconstructions of the Narbonne model with nine columns, four in front, in the diagrams in Biddle 1999, figs. 64A and B, and fig. 66A; and Wilkinson 2006, fig. 34.

61 The so-called Anonymous Jerusalem Pilgrim reported a decorative gold and silver structure over the tomb, which Kelley translates as "cornice"; *Brevarius de Hierosolyma*; Kelley 2019, 187 [Lat., Eng.]. Per Kelley, the Latin word is *transvolatile*, which is not found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, but if separated into *trans volatile*, translates as *flying across*, suggesting a rather delicate, ornate structure. Arculf described the shrine as a "the round domed structure" (1.2.6–7), but he saw the shrine after it was sacked in 614.

62 Goldschmidt 1923, 32.

63 St. Clair 1979, 130; Frazer 1979, 581.

64 St. Clair 1979, 130; Frazer 1979, 581.

65 St. Clair 1979, 130.

66 Wilkinson 1972, 96, fig. 14. Wilkinson's most recent reconstruction is in Wilkinson 2006, fig. 34.

67 Bovini 1961, 5–29, pl. 37.

68 St. Clair 1979, 131 (cites several church fathers using this metaphor); Frazer 1979, 581. An excellent early example is Theodore of Mopsuestia, who wrote in the late third and early fourth century, quoted in Taft 1975, 35–36. The tomb of Christ was not the only metaphor for the altar; for example, Germanus of Constantinople also wrote, "The holy table is also the throne of God," in *Ecclesiastical History* 4; see Meyendorff 1984, 59.

69 St. Clair 1979, 131; Frazer 1979, 581.

70 For the Sitten pyxis, see St. Clair 1979, 127–29, fig. 1. Its sculptor carved an angel sitting upon a sarcophagus beneath a ciborium-like arch, two women with censers approaching. For the mosaic in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo that also depicts a sarcophagus beneath the ciborium structure, see Bovini 1961, pl. 37.

71 St. Clair 1979, 132.

72 Lidov 2017, 10.

73 Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 10.4.68.

74 Kateusz and Confalonieri 2021, 233–41, fig. 12.4.

75 Ibid., 241–46, fig. 12.7.

76 Gnirs 1908, 5–6, 32–33.

77 Kateusz 2019, 169.

78 For the two other scenes on the ivory reliquary box, see Longhi 2006, pls. XIII, XV. There have been infrequent incidental misidentifications, but never any debate about the representation of the figures as women.

79 For details, see Kateusz and Confalonieri 2021, 234–41. The Vatican published its report of the excavations in Apollonj Ghetti et al. 1951.

80 For an account of the excavations, see Kirschbaum 1959, 15–164.

81 Ibid., 60.

82 Jerome, *Vigil*. 1.8; Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs* 27.

83 Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs* 27.

84 Kateusz 2017, 56–63; Kateusz 2019, 164–72; Kateusz and Confalonieri 2021, 237–41.

85 Petrova 2020, 216–20.

86 Deckers and Serdaroğlu 1993, 160–63.

87 Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* 9.1.

88 *Letter to Cosmas* 6; Nau 1916, 275–86, esp. 278–79. For more detail, see Kateusz 2019, 242–45, and Kateusz and Confalonieri 2021, 243.

89 Bernstein 2004, 204–9.

90 Philo of Alexandria, *De vita contemplativa*.

91 Ibid. 21; for discussion, see Taylor and Hay 2021, 165–69.

92 Philo of Alexandria, *De vita contemplativa* 81–89; for discussion, see Taylor and Hay 2021, 324–48. At 87, Philo unusually titled Miriam a "prophetess"; for discussion, see Taylor and Hay 2021, 341–43.

93 For example, Lv 9:22; 1 Chr; Sir 50:20–21. Philo of Alexandria, *De vita contemplativa* 66, 89.

94 Philo of Alexandria, *De vita contemplativa* 81–83, *De Agricultura* 80.

95 Mazza 1999, 43.

96 Taylor 2003, 343.

97 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.17.

98 Ibid. For discussion, see Taylor 2021, 290–95.

99 Taylor 2021, 295–301, figs. 14.2–14.5.

100 Kateusz 2019, 166, fig. 7.4.

101 Philo of Alexandria, *De vita contemplativa* 89; Kateusz 2019, 166; Kateusz and Confalonieri 2021, 236.

102 Brooten 1982, 1–99.

103 Lampe 1961, 1129–31 (πρεσβύτερος).

104 Brooten 1982, 1–99; Piovanelli 2022, especially the chart on 331 that is nearly complete except for Iael; for Iael, see Ilan 2004. Gender parallel titles are also found for Christian women during this time; Eisen 2000, 47–222; Ramelli 2021.

105 Bradshaw 2002, 3–4.

106 Cross 1965, 63–64, as quoted in Bradshaw 2002, 4.

107 For the slow parting of the ways, see Boyarin 2004.

108 Simson 1987, 31–32, pl. 15.

109 Torp 1963, 27.

110 St. Clair 1979, 130.

111 Kiilerich and Torp 2017, 27. André Grabar (1967) made a sustained argument, with many examples, that it represented a stool; see also Bakirtzis and Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 2012, 100, where it is called a stool.

112 Zangara 2000, 289–92; Deliyannis 2010, 68–69, 329n163.

113 Mango 1986, 159–70, figs. 34.3, 35.3.

114 Natalia Teteriatnikov (2016, 169) dates it about 500. In my opinion, given the dating of the ivory reliquary box and the limestone chancel screen, there seems to be no reason not to date the MMA pyxis to the fifth century. The style of cross seen on its lock plate is present in fifth-century art.

115 The earliest representation of a man with a censer in a liturgical setting, but that does not include an altar, is the depiction in the monumental mosaic on the left side of the altar area in San Vitale in Ravenna, installed ca. 550; see Kateusz 2019, 175–77, figs. 7.7, 7.8.

116 Lidov 2017, 17–22; Kateusz and Confalonieri 2021, 245–48, 254–57.

117 Lidov 2017, 17.

118 This is also when the episcopal pallium is first seen in art, with the oldest examples dated about 550. Male bishops with it are

depicted in San Vitale, while Mary (twice) and Elizabeth are shown with it hanging below their cloaks in the Euphrasian Basilica in Parenzo, Croatia, as seen in Kateusz 2019, 81–89, figs. 4.9 and 4.10. For details on the unexpectedly feminine history of the episcopal pallium, see Kateusz and Confalonieri 2021, 257–58.

119 Kateusz and Confalonieri 2021, 244–45, figs. 12.8, 12.9.

120 Lidov 2017, 17, fig. 19.

121 Ibid., 17. Lidov mentions the small local Council of Auxerre (ca. 578), which had only four bishops among the attendees (Shahan 1907). Its rule 36 read, "Women must not accept the Holy Host on a bare hand," and rule 46 read, "All women should have a *domincale* to go for communion," and while *domincale* is often assumed to mean a cloth to cover the bare hand, Rule 46 does not say so, and *domincale* most clearly translates to a veil for covering the head. Lidov (2017, 17) suggests that the practice of covering bare hands when handling the Host applied to both men and women, and concludes, "Probably, the handkerchief was perceived as a sign of one's participation in the liturgy, and as a link with the highest sacraments."

122 Lidov 2017, 17; Kateusz and Confalonieri 2021, 246.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATION

Itin. *Itinerarium*

Angiolini, Anna

1970 *La capsella eburnea di Pola*. Bologna: Casa Editrice Prof. Riccardo Pàtron.

Apollonj Ghetti, Bruno M., Antonio Ferrua, Enrico Josi, and Engelbert Kirschbaum

1951 *Esplorazioni sotto la confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano, eseguite negli anni 1940–1949*. 2 vols. Vatican City: Tipogr. Poliglotta Vaticana.

Bäbler, Balbina, and Alexander Fantalkin

2023 "Azotos Paralios (Ashdod-Yam, Israel) during the Periods of Roman and Byzantine Domination: Literary Sources vs. Archaeological Evidence." In *Word and Space Interacting in Palestine in Late Antiquity: Towards a History of Pluridimensionality*, edited by Cornelia Horn and Balbina Bäbler, 89–119. Chesterfield, MO: Abelian Academic.

Bakirtzis, Charalambos, and Eftychia Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou

2012 "Rotunda." In *Mosaics of Thessaloniki, 4th–14th Century*, edited by Charalambos Bakirtzis et al., 51–127. Translated by Alexandra Doumas. Athens: Kapon Editions.

Bernstein, Moshe J.

2004 "Women and Children in Legal and Liturgical Texts from Qumran." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11, no. 2, 191–211.

Bhalla, Niamh

2018 "Christian Ivories: Containment, Manipulation, and the Creation of Meaning." In *The Routledge Handbook of Early Christian Art*, edited by Robin M. Jensen and Mark D. Ellison, 207–20. London: Routledge.

Biddle, Martin

1996 "La Tomba di Cristo." In *Dalla terra alle genti: La diffusione del Cristianesimo nei Primi Secoli*, edited by Angela Donati, 143–49, 324–31. Exh. cat., Palazzi dell'Arengo e del Podestà. Milan: Electa.

1999 *The Tomb of Christ*. Thrupp, UK: Sutton Publishing.

Bogdanović, Jelena

2017 *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church (ca. 300–1500)*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bovini, Giuseppe

1961 *Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna*. Milan: Silvana Editoriale d'Arte.

Boyarin, Daniel

2004 *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bradshaw, Paul F.

2002 *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brooten, Bernadette J.

1982 *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues*. Brown Judaic Studies 36. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.

Cooper, James, and Arthur John Maclean, trans.

1902 *The Testament of Our Lord: Translated into English from the Syriac; with Introduction and Notes*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

Cross, F. L.

1965 "Early Western Liturgical Manuscripts." *Journal of Theological Studies* 16, no. 1 (April): 61–67.

Deckers, Johannes G., and Umit Serdaroğlu

1993 "Das Hypogäum beim Silivri-Kapi in Istanbul." *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 36:140–63.

Deliyannis, Deborah Mauskopf

2010 *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eisen, Ute E.

2000 *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies*. Translated by Linda M. Maloney. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press.

Ernst, Allie M.

2009 *Martha from the Margins: The Authority of Martha in Early Christian Tradition*. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 98. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Evans, Helen C., Melanie Holcomb, and Robert Hallman

2001 "The Arts of Byzantium." *MMAB* 59, no. 4 (Spring).

Frazer, Margaret E.

1979 "Holy Sites Representations." In *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, edited by Kurt Weitzmann, 564–91. Exh. cat. New York: MMA.

Garrucci, Raffaele

1880 *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa*. Vol. 6, *Sculture non cimiteriali*. Prato: Gaetano Guasti.

Geyer, Paul

1898 *Itinera hierosolymitana saeculi IIII–VIII*. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 39. Prague and Vienna: F. Tempsky; Leipzig: G. Freytag.

Gibson, Shimon, and Joan E. Taylor

1994 *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: The Archaeology and Early History of Traditional Golgotha*. Palestinian Exploration Fund Monograph, Series Maior I. London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Glare, P. G. W., ed.

1985 *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Reprint. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gnirs, Antonio
1908 "La basilica ed il reliquiario d'avorio di Samagher presso Pola." *Atti e memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* 24:5–48.
Goldschmidt, Adolph
1923 "Mittelstücke fünfteiliger Elfenbeintafeln des VI.–VII. Jahrhunderts." *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 30–33.
Grabar, André
1958 *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza – Bobbio)*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
1967 "A propos des mosaïques de la coupole de Saint-Georges, à Salonique." *Cahiers archéologiques* 17:59–81.
Ilan, Tal
2004 "Once Again on Yael and the Aphrodisias Inscription." *Zutot* 4:44–49.
Karras, Valerie A.
2004 "Female Deacons in the Byzantine Church." *Church History* 73, no. 2 (June): 272–316.
2005 "The Liturgical Functions of Consecrated Women in the Byzantine Church." *Theological Studies* 66:96–116.
Kateusz, Ally
2017 "'She Sacrificed Herself as the Priest': Early Christian Female and Male Co-Priests." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 33, no. 1 (Spring): 45–67.
2019 *Mary and Early Christian Women*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
2020 "Dormition Urtext?: Oldest Dormition Wall Painting Combines the Great Angel and Women with Censers." In *Rediscovering the Marys: Maria, Mariamne, Miriam*, edited by Mary Ann Beavis and Ally Kateusz, 185–202. London: T&T Clark.
Kateusz, Ally, and Luca Badini Confalonieri
2021 "Women Church Leaders in and around Fifth-Century Rome." In *Patterns of Women's Leadership in Early Christianity*, edited by Joan E. Taylor and Ilaria Ramelli, 228–60. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Kelley, Justin L.
2019 *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Text and Archaeology: A Survey and Analysis of Past Excavations and Recent Archaeological Research with a Collection of Principal Historical Sources*. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing.
Kiilerich, Bente, and Hjalmar Torp
2017 *The Rotunda in Thessaloniki and Its Mosaics*. Athens: Kapon Editions.
Kirschbaum, Engelbert
1959 *The Tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul*. Translated by John Murray. London: Secker & Warburg.
Lampe, G. W. H., ed.
1961 *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Lewis, Agnes Smith
1902 *Apocrypha Syriaca: The Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae*. Studia Sinaitica 11. London: C. J. Clay.
Lidov, Alexei
2017 "The Priesthood of the Virgin Mary as an Image-Paradigm of Christian Visual Culture." *IKON* 10:9–26.
Longhi, Davide
2006 *La capsella eburnea di Samagher: Iconografia e committenza*. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.
MacPherson, James Rose, trans. and ed.
1895 *The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land (about the Year A.D. 670)*. London: Hanover Square.
Madigan, Kevin, and Carolyn Osiek, eds. and trans.
2005 *Ordained Women in the Early Church: A Documentary History*. Baltimore: John Hopkin University Press.
Mango, Marlia Mundell
1986 *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures*. Exh. cat. Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery.
Martimort, Aimé Georges
1986 *Deaconesses: An Historical Study*. Translated by K. D. Whitehead. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.
Mazza, Enrico
1999 *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation*. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press.
McGowan, Anne, and Paul F. Bradshaw
2018 *The Pilgrimage of Egeria: A New Translation of the* Itinerarium Egeriae *with Introduction and Commentary*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press.
Meyendorff, Paul, trans. and ed.
1984 *On the Divine Liturgy: St Germanus of Constantinople*. Popular Patristics Series 8. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.
Miner, Dorothy Eugenia, and Marvin Chauncey Ross
1947 *Early Christian and Byzantine Art: An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art*. Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery.
Morris, Colin
2005 *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mütherich, Florentine
1959 "Une pyxide d'ivoire du 'Cleveland Museum of Art.'" *Cahiers archéologiques: Fin de l'antiquité et Moyen Âge* 10:201–6.
Nau, François, trans. and ed.
1916 *Histoire de Nestorius d'après la lettre à Cosme et l'Hymne de Sliba de Mansourya sur les docteurs grecs*. Patrologia Orientalis 13. Paris: Firmin-Didot.
Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios
1894 *Analekta hierosolymitikēs stachyologias* [in Greek]. Vol. 2. Petroupolis: Kirvaoum.
Petrova, Svetla
2020 "The Chancel Screens of the Episcopal Basilica (No. 4) in Parthicopolis/Bulgaria (Preliminary Observations)." In *Niš and Byzantium; Eighteen International Symposium, Niš, 3–5 June 2019: The Collection of Scientific Works XVIII*, edited by Miša Rakocija, 189–222. Niš: NKC.
Piovanelli, Pierluigi
2022 "Quand les femmes étaient prêtres." In *Dignus es accipere librum: Miscellanea in onore di Edmondo Lupieri per il suo LXXII compleanno*, edited by Luca Arcari and Laura Carnevale, 327–36. Bari: Edipuglia.
Ramelli, Ilaria
2021 "Colleagues of Apostles, Presbyters, and Bishops: Women *Syzygoi* in Ancient Christian Communities." In *Patterns of Women's Leadership in Early Christianity*, edited by Joan E. Taylor and Ilaria Ramelli, 26–58. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Schevitch sale
1906 *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité de l'antiquité, du moyen-âge et de la Renaissance, . . . composant la collection de M. D. Schevitch*. Sale cat., Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, April 4–7.

Shahan, Thomas J.
1907 "St. Aunarius." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Charles Herbermann et al., 2:107–8. New York: Robert Appleton Company.
Shoemaker, Stephen, trans.
2023 *The Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin Mary*. Turnhout: Brepols.
Simson, Otto G. von
1987 *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*. Reprint. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
St. Clair, Archer
1979 "The Visit to the Tomb: Narrative and Liturgy on Three Early Christian Pyxides." In "Papers Related to Objects in the Exhibition *Age of Spirituality*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (November 1977–February 1978)," *Gesta* 18, no. 1, 127–35.
Taft, Robert F.
1975 *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 200. Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium.
Taylor, Joan E.
2003 *Jewish Women Philosophers of First-Century Alexandria: Philo's "Therapeutae" Reconsidered*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2021 "Gendered Space: Eusebius on the Therapeutae and the 'Megiddo Church'." In *Patterns of Women's Leadership in Early Christianity*, edited by Joan E. Taylor and Ilaria Ramelli, 290–301. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Taylor, Joan E., and David M. Hay
2021 *Philo of Alexandria: On the Contemplative Life: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 7. Leiden: Brill.
Teteriatnikov, Natalia B.
2016 "When Art Depicts Ritual: The Salerno Plaque with the Women at the Tomb." In *The Salerno Ivories: Objects, Histories, Contexts*, edited by Francesca dell'Acqua et al., 167–77. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
Torp, Hjalmar
1963 *Mosaikkene i St. Georg-Rotunden i Thessaloniki: Et hovedverk i tidlig-bysantinsk kunst*. Oslo: Gyldendal.
Trolle, Steffen, and Peter Pentz
1983 "Den hellige Grav i Jerusalem." *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 97–112.
Wigand, Karl
1912 *Thymiateria*. Bonn: Georgi.
Wilkinson, John
1972 "The Tomb of Christ." *Levant* 4:83–97.
2006 *Egeria's Travels*. 3rd ed. Reprinted with corrections. Oxford: Aris & Phillips.
Zangara, Vincenza.
2000 "Una predicazione alla presenza dei principi: La chiesa di Ravenna nella prima metà del sec. V." *Antiquité Tardive* 8:265–304.

The Architecture of "Playe": Henry Hamlyn's House in Tudor Exeter

MELANIE HOLCOMB

In his *Chronicles of England*, the Elizabethan historian John Stow (1524/25–1605) tells the story of Henry Picard, a fourteenth-century London wine merchant who hosted a dinner in 1363 for no less illustrious company than King Edward III and the kings of France, Cyprus, Scotland, and Wales. The post-banquet amusements specially planned by Picard included games of "dice and hazard." Rounds were won and lost, we are told, but a shift in the evening's mood occurred when Picard noticed the king of Cyprus's frustration as his losses to Picard mounted. The merchant host stopped the gambling and graciously remarked, "My Lord and King be not agrieved, I covet not your golde but your play, for I have not bid you hither that I might grieve you, but that amongst other things I might trie your playe." Picard then returned the

Metropolitan Museum Journal, volume 59, 2024. Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with the University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1086/734018. © 2024 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

king's money and bestowed gifts to all the kings and their retinues. Stow summarizes the import of the incident by concluding it was all "to the great glorie of the Citizens of London."[1]

The story offers a dramatic departure from long-standing literary depictions of the merchant as a greedy usurer.[2] In Stow's account, the merchant assumes the role of munificent courtier, less concerned with money than with hospitality. A businessman and prosperous tailor himself before taking up the pen, Stow writes a particularly deft encomium to Picard that does more than dress up the merchant in a mantle of courtliness. Even as it disavows the merchant's principal occupation of moneymaking, it praises a crucial mercantile competency for doing so, that is, the art of "playe," at which the story notes, Picard is "verye skilfull."[3] Picard's express intent to "trie [his guest's] playe" can be read equally as an invitation and a challenge. The very elasticity of the word "trie" makes it unclear whether Picard brought the king there simply to offer him amusement or, more shrewdly perhaps, to assess his skills or even to see how he would hold up under pressure.[4] Play may be fun, but it is also a contest. Recent scholarship has articulated the ludic dimensions of English capitalism in the early modern period, drawing attention to the role of "competition, rivalry, contractual exchange, and risk-taking" that underlay a successful trader's activities and that figure in that moment's literary output.[5] Play in the sixteenth century also encompassed entertainments including pageants, sport, and theater. The burgeoning mercantile city was a vast arena for profitable play in all these senses. Little wonder that Picard's successful hand reflected well on London and its citizens.

This late sixteenth-century account, which presents a merchant's penchant for play as a civic good, serves as a useful entryway into the investigation of an unusual house built several decades earlier in the thriving commercial city of Exeter in southwest England. The house, which came to be known as the King John Tavern, was a noteworthy insertion in the mix of tenements and town houses in the city center.[6] Foreign in its construction and appearance, it hovered between the whimsical and the majestic. The eye-catching sculptural program of its facade, featuring musicians and an array of comic types, turned the building into a monumental celebration of carnival festivities.

This article examines the house and its owner through the lens of mercantile "playe," that is to say, the potent overlap of work and play as it operated in the civic sphere of early sixteenth-century England. It draws upon recent discoveries related to the now-destroyed house and its long history, revised readings of established sources on the building, and new art historical and technical analysis of its sculptures. The study begins with a close examination of the house inside and out to understand its distinctive architectural vocabulary. Its foreign features keyed it to Exeter's commercial ties and, it will be argued, to a particular commercial sensibility. The sculptures on the facade are the principal focus. Little known and little studied, they are among the earliest and best-preserved examples of domestic sculpture in England. The sculpture also felicitously reveals the name of the merchant who built the house, knowledge that helps to date it and gives us a footing in interpreting its remarkable appearance. Ultimately, it will be argued that this standout house was a monument not simply to one merchant's success but also to the very skills that made him successful. The house both derived from and celebrated Exeter's heated economy and the mercantile ingenuity that fueled it.

THE HOUSE

By 1834 Exeter's Commissioners of Improvement—an ad hoc local board formed in 1810 to pave, clean, light, and provide security for the city's streets—were in agreement that Exeter's main north-south axis desperately required widening and rebuilding to limit the weekly accidents occurring there.[7] That campaign instigated the multi-decade dismantling and destruction of one of the most noteworthy buildings in central Exeter.[8] Long known as the King John Tavern, the Tudor structure, one of many surviving in Exeter, stood steps away from the city's main crossing, on the west side of a short block of South Street called Cook Row. Several churches were in easy proximity, among them the parish church of Saint George at the southern end of Cook Row and the great Cathedral of Exeter, with its sizable complex commanding the east side of South Street. The site benefited from direct access to the Cathedral Close via a gate directly across the narrow road. The tavern's address was officially 87 South Street, but since the Middle Ages locals had described the location of the building as "at Little Stile," by virtue of its relationship to the Close gate.[9]

Though its sculptures were scattered and no trace of the structure survives, ample records of the building remain. From at least 1701 until the 1920s, the building seems to have remained in continuous commercial use, variously as a tavern, cabinetmaker's shop, wine import business, and tobacco factory, which ensured an ongoing public presence.[10] Its prominent location, distinctive

fig. 1 Edward Ashworth (English, 1814–1896). Reconstructed exterior of the King John Tavern, after 1846. Watercolor and ink on paper. Devon and Exeter Institution

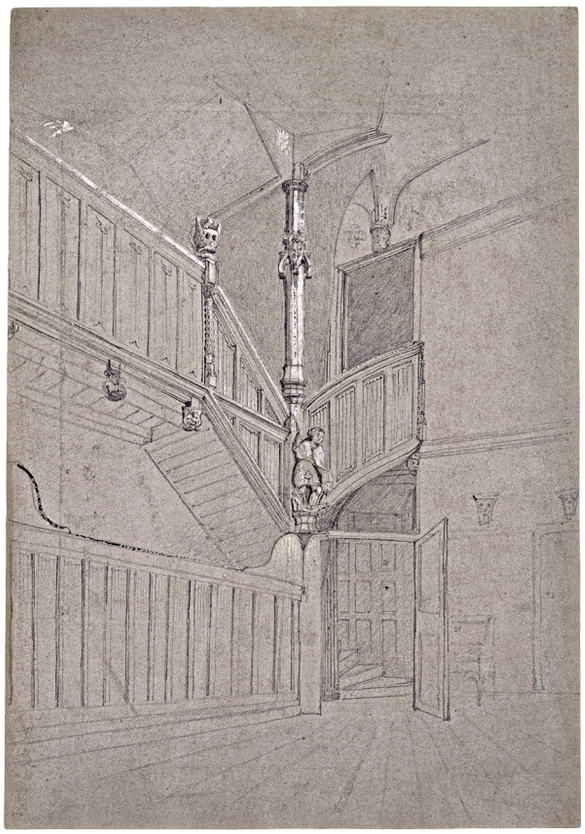

fig. 2 John Gendall (English, 1790–1865). Interior of the King John Tavern, ca. 1829. Black chalk with white heightening on paper, 9⅞ × 7 in. (25.1 × 17.7 cm). Devon Heritage Centre (inv. P&D05695)

fig. 3 Jean-François Guével (French). *Maison à pondalez at 9 Grand'Rue,* front exterior. Watercolor on paper

and joyous exterior, and equally remarkable and often publicly accessible interior made it a beloved landmark for Exonians, whose admiration of and interest in the building seemed only to increase after its dismantling and destruction.[11] Numerous artists, local and visiting, made a point of sketching it in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, providing an invaluable cache of illustrations of the building as a whole and its decoration.[12] In a meticulously argued article, John Allan assembled this abundance of visual documentation to reconstruct the house's interior and exterior, demonstrating that it noticeably departed from the architecture of the region.[13]

Our best understanding of the exterior comes from a watercolor created by the West Country architect Edward Ashworth (fig. 1). His finished and measured reconstruction, created no earlier than 1846 when he settled in Exeter, synthesized his own and others' sketches.[14] The watercolor shows a four-story timber-framed dwelling, with modest jetties on each of the upper stories. The stories were demarcated by wide, stepped horizontal moldings, themselves punctuated by the beam ends of regularly placed joists. Plastered over at some point, the facade originally showcased a lively decorative scheme, with figural sculptures at every level, ornamental embellishments beneath the windows of the second and third stories, and showy diagonal braces on the end panels at the third.

Once inside the house, visitors encountered a majestic open hall. At one side of the room rose a winding staircase, which opened onto a landing, or open gallery, on the second level. This scheme of landings seems likely to have extended to further stories. The Devon painter John Gendall was particularly taken by the staircase, and his series of delicately rendered images conveys something of the mystery and glamour it imparted (fig. 2). Nothing at all like the narrow and steep flights of steps typical of earlier English houses or even the open staircases that would characterize grand town houses within a few decades, this staircase—indeed the whole house—borrows directly from the architectural vocabulary of Brittany, France, one of Exeter's most significant trading partners.[15] As Allan has shown, the model for the Exeter house was a type unique to the port city of Morlaix. Known as the *maison à pondalez*, it made use of the same sort of timber framing and pattern of diagonal braces seen on the exterior of the tavern (fig. 3). The interior showcased the type's defining feature: the stacked set of wooden galleries that linked rooms at the front of building with those in the back and that were served by a spiral staircase. A detached example now in the Victoria and

Albert Museum, London, highlights the distinctiveness of the form (fig. 4).[16] Pressed against one side of the house, opposite a chimneyed fireplace, the galleries—or *ponts d'aller*—articulated an impressive open hall that reached to the roof (fig. 5).[17]

Allan's article wisely places the construction of the house within the context of immigrant communities in southwest England during the first half of the sixteenth century, pointing out the large number of Breton craftsmen recorded in the Military Survey of 1522 and the Devon Lay Subsidy returns of 1524.[18] By zeroing in on construction as well as stylistic details, Allan documents the means by which the house was made, confirming without a doubt that it was the handiwork of local Breton woodworkers using the methods and styles to which they were accustomed.[19] The house type was thus a wholesale transplant from another city, made possible through the itinerant nature of Exeter's workforce. In that sense, it read at once as foreign and local, manifesting a source of Exeter's wealth and a source of its labor.

THE SCULPTURES

Nineteenth-century images of the interior and exterior demonstrate that wood carvings were an integral part of the house's overall design. As Gendall's drawings show, linenfold panels on the ground-level walls and staircase railings provided the setting for an array of sculpted works that included decorative corbels, textured colonnettes on the upper banister, and figural statues in addition to a massive oak newel with an arcaded surround. Just below the newel, a prominent image of Saint George and the Dragon greeted visitors entering the house, a reference presumably to the parish where the building stood.[20] On the exterior, as seen in Ashworth's drawing, were seven column figures: three at street level that marked the doorway and sides, with pairs of figures at the outer edges on the next two upper stories.

The removal of the woodwork seems to have taken place over several decades, with the most significant components divided at the time of the 1830s road-widening between the Cornish family, who owned the building, and the English travel writer Richard Ford,

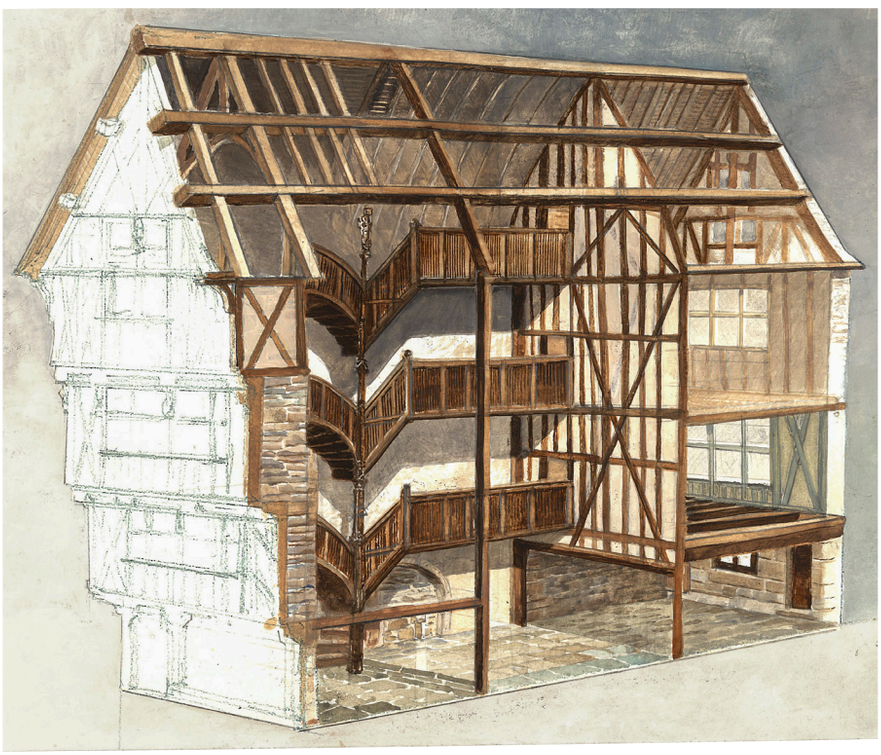

fig. 4 Staircase from 17 Grand'Rue, Morlaix, 1522–30. Oak, 33 ft. 3⅜ in. × 19 ft. 4⅝ in. × 7 ft. 4¼ in. (10.2 × 6 × 2.2 m). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. A.8-1909)

fig. 5 Jean-François Guével. *Maison à pondalez at 9 Grand'Rue*, axiometric view. Musée de Morlaix

figs. 6 and 7 Architectural posts with a shawm player and bagpiper, 1524–25. Oak, each 8 ft. 4½ in. × 7½ in. × 9½ in. (255.3 × 19.1 × 24.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1978 (1978.405.2, 1)

who was renovating and decorating an Elizabethan cob cottage in Exeter.[21] More structural pieces and some linenfold panels were salvaged by the Warren Brothers, Exeter-based cabinetmakers, when the building underwent dramatic changes in the early 1880s.[22] Of a once significant collection of carved elements, only five works are known to survive. All are column figures from the house's exterior. All have been part of The Met Cloisters since the 1970s,[23] and until recently, none have received significant scholarly attention.[24]

Surviving examples of domestic, secular sculpture from late medieval or early modern England are rare.[25] Rarer still are works on the scale of these, with figures carved almost entirely in the round and, with their columns, originally extending to about 255 centimeters long. Even more impressively, each is made from a single oak timber. Almost certainly harvested from English forests, the trees likely had a felling date of sometime between 1492 and 1528.[26] In terms of composition, each follows the same overall arrangement, with relatively large figures standing on a whimsical capital of sorts, which in turn tops a slender column, noteworthy for its varied textural surface. Though only traces of polychrome surface decoration survive, their relatively good state of preservation suggests they were continuously protected by paint layers from an early date.[27]

Two musicians survive from the upper stories. One is a puffy-cheeked shawm player poised on a pair of wrestling putti (fig. 6) and the other is a bagpiper standing atop a leering mask (fig. 7). They are true column figures: their bodies and bases sit tightly within the contours of the long cylinder out of which they were carved. Their overall dimensions and the directional pull of the figures make clear that the columns were carved with their location in mind. While Ashworth's watercolor depicts the shawm player on the third story's left edge and the piper on the right side of the second story, another drawing sketched just before the building's demise suggests

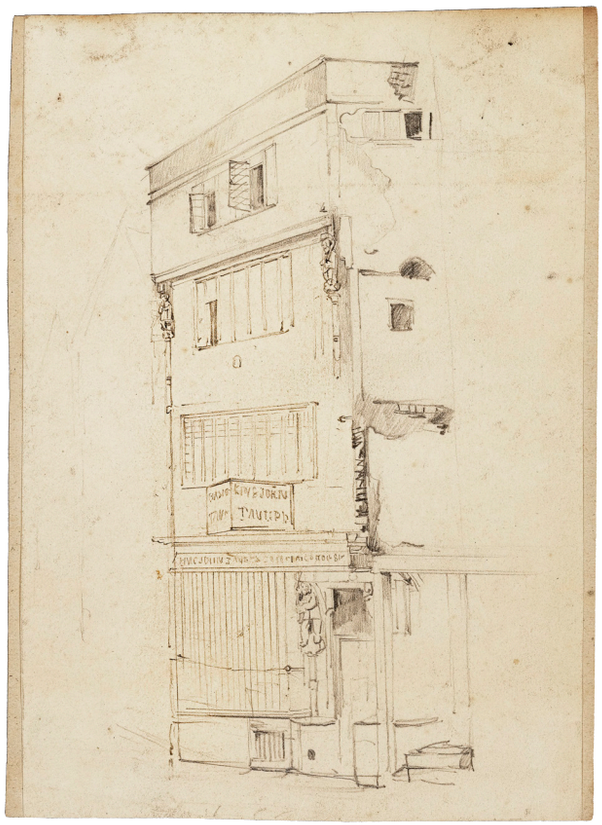

fig. 8 Exterior of the King John Tavern, ca. 1829. Charcoal on paper, 8½ × 5⅞ in. (21.7 × 15 cm). Devon Heritage Centre

fig. 9 Edward Ashworth. Sketch of the King John Tavern sculptures, after 1846. Ink and watercolor on paper. Devon and Exeter Institution

that the piper in fact stood on the third story (fig. 8). Ashworth's mistake, a function of the haphazard arrangement of figures in the sketchbook from which the watercolor was derived (fig. 9), undermines what would have been a thoughtful pairing on the uppermost level. The two instrumentalists, after all, mirror each other in the positions of the hands and legs and complement each other in their contrasting mien and facial features. Poised on high, with implied notes projecting down and out from the flared bells of horn and chanter, they set the tone for the facade as a whole. Where one might expect angels, the building provided street musicians who oversaw the activities below, imbuing everything beneath them with a sense of music and mirth.

The three figures at the lowest level strike a markedly different chord. If the musicians above seem to expand the facade's reach by permeating the mood of the streetscape, the figures below are the stars of the show, drawing viewers in, demanding attention with their physical specificity and narrative force. An Exeter pedestrian would have encountered from left to right an angry wife and her cuckolded husband coming to blows atop the head of a man with his finger in his mouth and tongue stuck out (fig. 10); a club-wielding peasant standing upon a grimacing acrobat (fig. 11); and a somewhat sinister jester balanced on a fierce four-legged creature (fig. 12). Larger, fuller, and richer in detail than the secular cherubs on high, the street-level trio exhibit a sculptural vigor that verges on flamboyant. In their original setting, the columns overall would have measured the same height from bottom to top as those on the upper story, but the three figures below, each at about 86 centimeters, are almost a foot taller than the two musicians. Large chunks of the tree trunk from which they were carved were removed to give them full sway, allowing them to extend several centimeters beyond the frontal plane established by the architectural elements.

The trio's dynamism is everywhere evident from the upward thrust of the peasant woman's arm to the crisscrossed legs of the jester. Animating details abound, particularly in matters of dress. The bodice lacings and wimple folds of the woman, the buttons and saggy boots of the peasant man, and the tassels, baubles, and bells of the jester's distinctive costume are only a few of the eye-catching details. Situated at eye level, substantially projecting into the street, these figures were placed to command attention. They coinhabited the narrow space of Cook Row, addressing passersby directly and insisting upon close looking through the presentation of a host of intriguing and recognizable elements.

fig. 10 Architectural post with a quarreling couple, 1524–25. Made in Exeter, England, by French woodworkers. Oak, 89¾ × 9½ × 9½ in. (228 × 24.1 × 24.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1974 (1974.295.2)

fig. 11 Architectural post with a peasant holding a club, 1524–25. Made in Exeter, England, by French woodworkers. Oak, 83 1/16 × 9½ × 12 in. (211 × 24.1 × 30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection (1974.295.3)

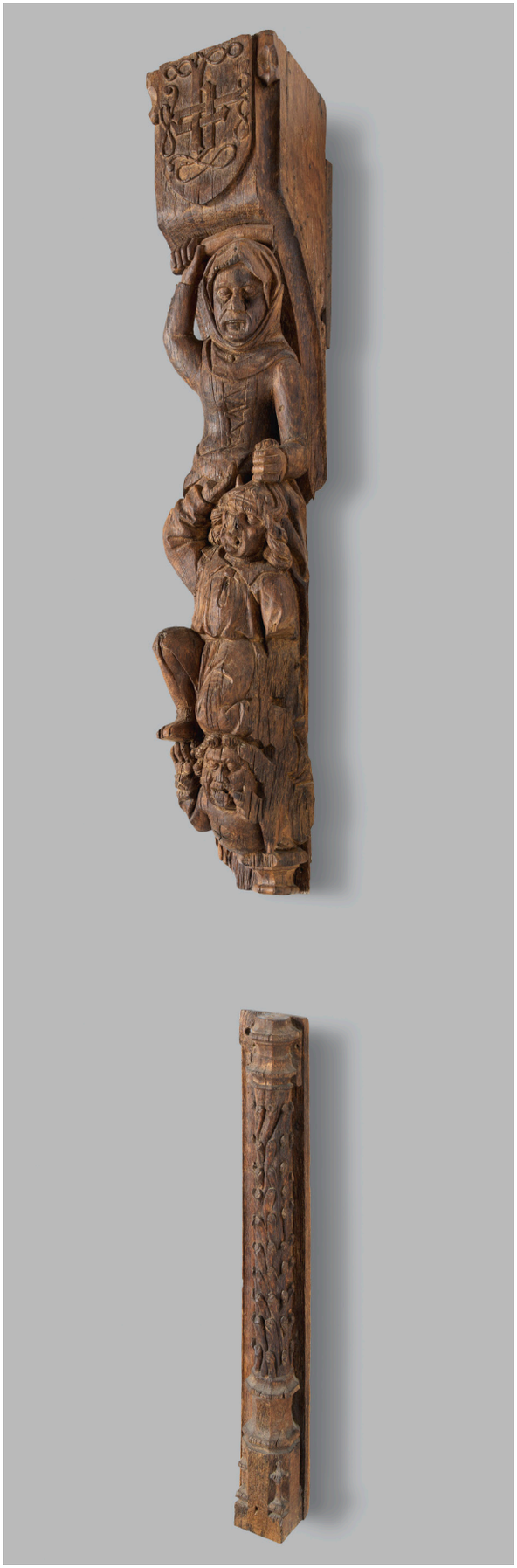

fig. 12 Architectural post with a jester, 1524–25. Oak, 83 1/16 × 9 1/2 × 9 1/4 in. (211 × 24.1 × 23.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1974 (1974.295.1)

The lower-level figures entice but do not seduce. Rather, violence, overt or imminent, is a leitmotif common to them all, and each figure wields a weapon of sorts. Their faces, hollow-cheeked and stern, offer no hint of friendliness. Did the sculptures serve as a deterrent to potential passing troublemakers? Did they offer symbolic protection? Or is there crude humor at work here, akin to slapstick? This fascinating lineup of comic characters leaves us to ask what business the building's owner had in commissioning a monument of such earthy exuberance.

THE MAN

Insofar as scholars and admirers of the building have considered its original owner, the assumption has been that he must have been a nobleman or royalist.[28] His name was not known to the scholars and admirers, but the escutcheons above the heads of the two figures flanking the doorway announced his allegiance to city and Crown. The Tudor coat of arms appears above the peasant, while the tower and portcullis gate of Exeter's Rougemont Castle—an early form of the Exeter shield—is displayed above the jester. The personal monogram above the quarreling couple at the left corner of the building establishes that rather than a noble home, this one belonged to a member of the merchant class, and the two gothic *H*'s, elegantly crisscrossed, provide ample information to help specify the owner.[29] Exeter's various surviving tax assessments from 1489 to 1557/58 yield the names of fourteen men with first and last names that begin with an *H*.[30] Only two among them had the means to build a house of such extravagance, and just one of those two—Henry Hamlyn—is recorded as living in the Parish of St. George, where the house stood.[31] His will of 1549 clinches the identification with its specific mention of his "house at lytle style," which he bequeathed to his daughter Elizabeth Sydnam along with its contents.[32] With Hamlyn's name securely fixed to the house, the Lay Subsidies narrow the time of its completion to 1524, when Hamlyn was recorded as still living in the Parish of St. Olaf, or 1525, when Hamlyn was assessed in the Parish of St. George.[33]

Whether archival, dendrochronological, or stylistic, the evidence for the house's construction neatly converges in the first half of the 1500s, when the city of Exeter experienced rapidly expanding prosperity and Henry Hamlyn was among those orchestrating its success.[34] As one of Exeter's leading citizens, he surfaces in the archives and histories of Exeter in a variety of contexts. These include his will, real-estate transactions, court cases, customs accounts, and municipal records,

as well as in the historical writings of John Hooker, the sixteenth-century chronicler and civic administrator of Exeter. The man who emerges is a boldly enterprising figure and tireless Exeter promoter.

Hamlyn's confidence and ambitious outlook were presumably born of his upbringing. From his father, Nicholas Hamlyn, Henry inherited commercial contacts, business sense, and a presumed role within Exeter's governing body. From his mother, Anne Wyllysford, he inherited property.[35] A tailor, Nicholas was one of the principal importers of Exeter during the 1470s–90s, bringing in woad, malmsey, and most especially linen from Brittany. He also served as mayor in 1499.[36] Nicholas's station ensured that Henry would enter the freedom of the city—a privilege necessary to conduct business and to take up public office—upon Nicholas's death. In 1504 Henry assumed, by succession, the status of freeman. From there, his ascent was rapid. By 1511, he was a bailiff; by 1519, he began his lifetime tenure as a member of the city's oligarchy, known as the Twenty-Four. Henry advanced from the city's receiver (1524) to constable of the staple (1525–26) to mayor (1526–27) to member of parliament (1529–36) in five quick years and went on to serve as mayor again in 1538–39.[37] Less important than the specific offices he held is the proof they provide of a man perpetually on the move, energetically playing all the great roles on Exeter's political stage.[38]

WORK

In the brief biographies he provides for many of Exeter's mayors, John Hooker describes Hamlyn as someone who "lived by merchandise," a trade by which tax assessments and court records indicate he did very well.[39] He seems to have followed in his father's footsteps working as an importer-exporter, particularly with Brittany.[40] With the English Channel as their shared border, Brittany and Devon, the county in which Exeter sits, had long been the closest of trading partners.[41] Exports from Exeter to Brittany included manufactured woolen cloth—straits, kerseys, and friezes—as well as Devon tin and sugar reshipped from other locations. From Brittany, ships brought in canvas for sails and linens for sheets, napkins, and personal dress, along with salt and wine, which came from Nantes via Breton ports. A variety of linen, known as crest cloth, was the major Breton export to the city, marketed mainly through Morlaix and sent almost exclusively to Exeter.[42] Exeter probate inventories paint a picture of local homes stocked with cloth Morlaisien, but most linen coming through Exeter was bound for London markets.[43]

Hooker's mention of Brittany is significant and must have been prompted in part by his familiarity with the house at Little Stile. No other mayor in his *Chronicles* is tied so explicitly to a specific place. Though the archival evidence has yet to emerge that connects Hamlyn directly to the city of Morlaix, his home provides unassailable evidence that he knew the place. He may well have trained there at an early age or served as a resident agent.[44] The Hamlyn brand, to use modern marketing terms, rested on his Breton connections, and perhaps the simplest way to understand Hamlyn's house is as an advertisement for his work: his training, his business relations, the products he trafficked in, and the money he made from them. Self-advertisement is the oldest of motivations, but in many ways, it is the least interesting. In the case of the Hamlyn house, it does not account for the striking decision to emulate a Morlaix home so scrupulously.

There has been important work of late to suggest otherwise, yet it remains a commonplace that merchants were social climbers who, in their striving, generally sought to emulate their perceived betters.[45] In the sixteenth century that emulation often (though not always) meant an urban merchant might build an expansive country home in the manner of the landed aristocracy.[46] Hamlyn, however, curiously modeled his trophy home not on those of local aristocracy or even of other well-to-do merchants in Exeter, but on the homes of his trading partners.

The novelty is twofold. First, the *maison à pondalez* is peculiarly and emphatically an urban structure. In its native setting, it may well have aspired to the grandiosity of a rural castle, as Daniel Leloup claims, but size is only one measurement of a home. The problems that the *maison à pondalez* solved and the form it took responded to the singular constraints of a city committed to density. It is a narrow town house, built en bloc to ensure the efficient sharing of walls. Its impact derives from the considered deployment of height and depth, not on its extent or its relationship to surrounding land. It manages its commercial needs through its capacious hall, designed to host and impress clients. The asymmetrical disposition of door and window, which allowed windows to open out to the street as a kind of seller's booth, further enhanced the home's commercial use. Whether Hamlyn deployed his home in the same way Morlaix traders did, we cannot know, but even if not, the house unequivocally drew from a specifically urban and mercantile architectural vocabulary.

Second, the style of urban architecture Hamlyn chose to bring to Exeter was one in the process of

formation. Whether a Shinto shrine in Brooklyn or a Georgian manor in Hangzhou, a close architectural borrowing from a distant place tends toward retrospection. It is often born of an admiration for the history, traditions, or mythologies of a foreign people or place, best conjured through a bygone style. Hamlyn's house does not fit that model. According to Leloup, the basic characteristics of the *maison à pondalez* had emerged by the end of the fifteenth century but structural and aesthetic refinements continued to evolve through the 1520s and later, some of which could be seen in the Hamlyn house.[47] Neither an imitation nor evocation of a Morlaix town house, the Hamlyn home is more correctly an iteration, a version derived from the dynamic back-and-forth of Breton and Devonian traders and craftsmen. Curiously, it was built at the very moment when row upon row of these distinctive houses were being speedily erected in the wake of an English attack on Morlaix in 1522. Was the house meant to flaunt a decisive English victory? Or, given the long-standing commercial ties between the two towns, was it an effort to pay tribute to a trading partner's headstrong confidence and emboldened clarity of purpose, civic as well as personal qualities that Hamlyn himself seemed to possess?

Certainly those qualities were on full display in the 1530s, when Hamlyn devoted his energy to building a wool and cloth market adjacent to St. George's Church on Cook Row, mere steps away from his notable residence. Hamlyn was the singular force behind the market, advocating for and personally funding it over the opposition of many of his peers among the Twenty-Four and in the face of a lawsuit from the nearby town of Crediton, which had been Devon's main wool market.[48] Elbows were out as he pushed through every obstacle, including the acquisition of building materials, which he procured from the St. Nicholas Priory in Exeter. Though all such religious houses had been dissolved by Parliament in 1536 (Hamlyn was the city's MP), local resistance to the Priory's suppression was fierce. Eager to keep favor with the king, members of the Twenty-Four, including Hamlyn, attempted to pacify the resisters and prevent the embarrassing news of their protest from reaching the court. Hamlyn's erection of the cloth market in 1538 using the cloister's roof signaled the city's partnership with the Crown and a certain shamelessness in enjoying the spoils of suppression.[49] Having used every lever at his disposal to get the market built, Hamlyn and his fellow council members sealed the deal in 1542 by passing an act obliging all merchants, local and foreign, to sell their goods there. To operate elsewhere was punishable by fine. And *that's* how the game of monopoly works.

Hamlyn was a player—one distinguished historian called him a "live wire"[50]—and this was not the only time the stratagems he used to make the win merged the personal with the civic.[51] Wallace T. MacCaffrey's classic study of the power structure of Exeter in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries spells out the many ways that Exeter's Twenty-Four equated good governance with good business, specifically the businesses of those men who belonged to the Twenty-Four.[52] In setting up and using his own funds to pay for a commercial quarter located in the center of town with his house as its banner, Hamlyn essentially made the case that a private building could benefit the public good, that endeavors suiting his own commercial interests embraced the concerns of the city at large. He was not a subtle man. In a city where many trades operated out of practitioners' homes, which served as both dwelling and shop space, Hamlyn, for his own merchandising enterprises, audaciously commandeered an entire block. The shields lined up on a single register on the lower level of his house announced the mind-set of the merchant-mayor to any passerby: for Crown, for city, for Hamlyn. None of these allegiances subsumed the others; rather, they operated in an economy of mutual reinforcement.

PLAY

The other arrow in Hamlyn's quiver—indeed for that of any civic leader during the late medieval and early modern periods—was entertainment. Whatever size the city, the processions, pageants, festivals, inauguration ceremonies, and ritual dramas organized by the civic elite gave structure to the communal year and instilled a sense of shared identity.[53] Exeter was no exception, and its array of civic entertainments likely followed the pattern of other English towns of its size, even as its records in this area are relatively thin. A Midsummer celebration, with a perambulation of the city limits, torchlight parade and armed muster, and Corpus Christi feast, with a procession and plays, were long-standing annual occurrences organized by the local government, craft guilds, and clergy.[54] Receivers' Account Rolls of Exeter report annual expenditures on the "common performers," or the waits, whom the city provided with instruments, liveries, and elaborate silver collars, as well as a yearly wage and pension. These town musicians were present to mark election days, important visits, and high feasts. Sports such as bull-baiting or, less frequently, bear-baiting also received municipal support, not only for chains, stakes, and

ropes but also for the warden of the shambles, whose job was to prepare the bulls for baiting. The expense of pears and wine, presumably for elite members of the bull-baiting audience, also fell to city coffers.[55] Enriching and expanding these local entertainments were those provided by traveling companies, mainly of actors but sometimes musicians, singers, and acrobats.[56] These troupes, sponsored by royal or aristocratic patrons, ensured that the dramatic fare in Exeter was more varied than the annual "Robin Hood and Lyttle John" performance for the benefit of St. John's Bow church on Fore Street.[57]

The sculptures that adorned Hamlyn's house seem of a piece with Exeter's entertainment offerings. They flaunt their theatricality, turning the facade into a permanent stage of urban festivity—noisy, immersive, and admirably ridiculous. Even if the types depicted find their counterparts in the complaint literature, political writings, jests, popular songs, and narrative poetry of medieval England, their source was almost certainly French, like the architecture itself. The quarreling couple comes directly out of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century French farce, where wanton wives and clueless cuckolds were favorite types to skewer the sacrament of marriage, and where domestic violence was regularly played for laughs. The peasant emerges from French farce as well, appearing in an array of guises: the country bumpkin (*vilain*), the working stiff, the volatile idiot. Adding to the comic lineup of the facade, the jester pays homage to a subcategory of the farce, the *sottie*, a zany parade of satire and slapstick led by the costumed *sot*, or fool. Beatings were a crucial plot device in farces, even as the beaten never seemed to suffer harm. Musical numbers were equally essential. Sometimes stuffed (*farci,* in French) into more serious drama as comic relief, sometimes performed independently, the farce drew anyone who liked to laugh, no matter the social status. In France these short plays, based on and performed for the urban environment, could happen anywhere—in the street, at a fairground, in a private home, or even adjacent to a wool and cloth market.[58]

The Hamlyn home wore its foreignness with pride, but that does not mean its features were illegible to locals. There is a sliver of archival evidence to suggest that Hamlyn was cognizant of the theatrical resonance of his home and exploited it for civic purposes. Among the entries in Receivers' Account Rolls of Exeter during Hamlyn's first term as mayor are payments to four troupes—the King's Jesters, the Lord Chief Justice's performers, the Lord Fitzwarin's Performers, and the Countess of Devon's Performers—all of whom played at the mayor's home.[59] Given that traveling companies tended to visit Exeter and other comparable cities only once or twice a year, the payments suggest a remarkably high concentration of municipally funded performances in a short period of time.[60] Mayors and other city officials were important audiences for playing companies all over England, but when Exeter's records reveal a venue for such performances (and granted, they often do not), the Guildhall comes up again and again. The mayor's home appears only one other time in surviving records from 1500 to 1600.[61] Whether Hamlyn is a rarity among Exeter's Tudor mayors in hosting troupes at his home or not, the entries from the early months of 1527 hint that an energetic and enterprising mayor, one whose house seemed especially well disposed for performances, both in the mood its exterior sculptures establish and in the galleried arrangement of its interior, understood the felicitous rapport between show and stage. Through his home, Hamlyn, in a sense, presented himself as the patron of his own itinerant company, replete with musicians and players who had traveled from afar.

For Hamlyn to adorn the exterior of his home with comic imagery was to offer it up for the city's perpetual enjoyment, but we might ask if all its inhabitants were equally amused. Certainly, the facial features, costumes, and possessions of sculptures on the exterior of his house mark the figures as members of the urban poor, "the meaner sort," to use sixteenth-century terms. Musicians, performers, day laborers, and peasant farmers all stood outside the administrative and commercial networks of the city. In the literary and visual language of the time, their inferior status often served as a cue for laughter, as rusticity of style and manners was shorthand for the grotesque, the licentious, the excitable, the ridiculous, the comically violent. As Tom Nichols has pointed out, early modern artists often treated the urban poor as if they were performers rather than real people.[62] While Henry Hamlyn belonged to Exeter's commercial elite, the figures he chose to adorn his home pointedly did not. Indeed, they occluded the city's very real social and economic divisions.[63]

As the centuries-old pageant in London known as the Lord Mayor's Show makes plain, public entertainment was a crucially visible part of the apparatus of nonroyal civic power, its extent and elaboration a proxy for the authority and munificence of the city's leaders.[64] Turning the city into a vibrant performative space was at once crowd-pleasing and self-serving. To provide public amusement was to exercise an obligation and prerogative of the elite. The scale of Exeter's civic

entertainments cannot compare to London's, but they operated similarly in promoting social cohesion while also reinforcing an emphatically hierarchical social order. One could argue that Hamlyn's house operates along these same lines. Insofar as it uses the language of expensive public amusement to project the power of the man who provides it, the house is no different from the Lord Mayor's Show, or for that matter, the spectacles of ancient Rome. That its decoration draws from the specific parlance of French farce, however, gives nuance to that characterization.

French farce was a quintessentially urban art form. Not only were its performances staged in the public spaces of town and city, but also its settings, plot devices, and vocabulary were often shot through with allusions to the marketplace. The hazards of commercial exchange engender the misunderstandings and outright trickery that gave these plays their comic teeth. Organized around "commercial contests between tricksters," *The Farce of Master Pierre Pathelin,* one of the genre's most famous examples, epitomizes this sensibility.[65] An underemployed lawyer's attempt to obtain cloth from a local merchant and the merchant's attempt to collect payment for said cloth set into motion a mischievous chain of theft and deception, which includes the sticky-fingered shepherd who works for the merchant. No character is spared in a farce, most especially a merchant, whose perceived greed makes him particularly ripe for mockery. But a character's profession seems beside the point. In *Pathelin*, a devious merchant is duped by a more devious lawyer, and both are hoodwinked in the end by a still more devious shepherd. In this ludicrous, drawn-out match of wits, there is no hero, only a winner. The one who plays the game best earns the last laugh.

Henry Hamlyn's marvelous house made manifest the ways in which virtuosic display, brazen self-promotion, profit-seeking ambition, and civic-minded festivity were intertwined activities.[66] It also unrepentantly celebrated the language and logic of the farce. Sitting at the nexus of his commercial operations in the center of Exeter, the house stood as a reward for and a tribute to one man's ingenuity in multiple spheres. As such, it extended its own invitation to "trie your playe." To some, such as Hamlyn's fellow merchants and members of Exeter's civic elite, his extravagant home might be understood as a gambit in a game of architectural or commercial one-upmanship. To others, it was a simple offer to pick a farce, any farce. In either game, Henry Hamlyn's wit was the clear winner.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My deepest thanks to the many colleagues in New York, Exeter, London, and Morlaix who have generously offered their expertise and assistance to this research project. I am particularly lucky to have had John Allan and Maryanne Kowaleski as my esteemed guides to all things medieval Exeter. They also provided helpful suggestions to this text, as did Nick Humphrey.

MELANIE HOLCOMB
Curator and Manager of Collection Strategy, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NOTES

1 Stow 1580, 456.
2 Stevenson 2002.
3 Stow 1580, 455.
4 The nearly two-page entry for "try" in the Oxford English Dictionary gives some indication of the word's capaciousness in the sixteenth century. In the context of Stow's text, to "trie" could mean to attempt, to refine, to ascertain through examination, to test, and/or put to the proof. My thanks to Theodore Leinwand for helping me think through the various possibilities.
5 Quoting Tinkle 2021, 6. See also Leinwand 1999; Sullivan 2002; and Tinkle 2020.
6 Portman 1966; Parker and Allan 2015.
7 The discussion recounted in "Commissioners of Improvement," *TEFP,* April 17, 1834, gives some sense of the urgency of these repairs. For an excellent account of the street's changes, see *Demolition Exeter* 2012.
8 It is not clear exactly when the facade was torn down, but it was surely within the next few years. An 1836 notice for the King John Commercial Tavern and Family Hotel (*TEFP*, March 17, 1836) indicates that it had "recently been rebuilt and fitted up at a very considerable expense," while an 1838 article (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1838, 484) notes that its sculpture had "lately been pulled down." Descriptions of an exhibition of much of its sculpture make clear that by 1861 all the exterior and interior sculpture had been removed; see "British Archaeological Society," *TEFP*, August 21, 1861, and "Proceedings of the Congress," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 18 (1862): 343–44. Nonetheless some version of the building

seems to have stood until at least the 1880s and perhaps even until 1942, when the south side of the city was flattened in the Exeter Blitz of World War II. See note 10 below for a history of the building and site.

9 Dymond 1880, 409; Lega-Weekes 1915.

10 The building had been known by some version of the name "King John Tavern" since at least 1701. The first archival mention of a "King Johns Tavern" appears in a court case of 1701 in which Ralph Waldron from Tiverton is listed as a leaseholder: Birdall v. Cary, TNA, C 6/370/10. By 1752, ownership of the building had transferred to the Flashman family, who allowed secret Catholic masses to be celebrated in an upper room of the building then known as the King John's Entry ("Chapters in the Mission of the English Benedictine Missions," *Downside Review* 20, no. 3 [1901]: 264–77). From 1791 (and perhaps as early as 1761 or before) until 1814, Henry Flashman and, upon his death, his son operated a cabinetmaking business out of the building; see "Flashman, Henry (1761–1808)," in *British and Irish Furniture Makers Online*, October 16, 2019, https://bifmo.furniturehistorysociety.org/entry/flashman-henry-1761-1808; and *TEFP*, December 15, 1814. The use of the building as a cabinetmakers' shop in the late 1700s is affirmed by an entry in John Carter's sketchbook from his visits to Exeter in the 1770–90s, where he refers to it as "an ancient house, call'd King John's Palace [now a cabinet makers]" (British Library, Add MS 29931, p. 36).

Descendants of the Flashmans, the (Powning) Cornish families, retained ownership of the building into the nineteenth century. Advertisements and notices in *TEFP* provide a steady record of the building's use as a tavern (and sometimes hotel and auction site) beginning in 1815 with a succession of operators: O. McDonald (May 11, 1815); William Wood (September 11, 1817); John Steel (September 29, 1825); and Benjamin Cattle (March 17, 1836). The building was offered for lease as a fully fitted tavern in 1839 (April 18, 1839).

Its days as a tavern had ended by 1841, when James Murch made use of the premises (until 1853) for his eponymous wine and spirit import business at 87 South Street (*TEFP*, January 28, 1841). Other wine merchants (Henry and Robert Taylor, George Burge, and William Caunter) continued to operate in the space until 1869, when Rev. Sydney William Cornish sold the building—referred to in the conveyance record as the King John Tavern—to Lloyd and Son's Tobacco Manufactory (Devon Record Office, 5200C-5/156/3).

About 1880 the building may have been torn down ("Old Oak Work," *Furniture Gazette*, March 18, 1882, 175–76) or, if not, was significantly altered to adjoin to another Lloyd building with an entrance around the corner on Fore Street. The site or building (by then bearing the address 100 South Street) became the principal entrance for Lloyd's goods, with a specially commissioned mantelpiece made from the tavern's old oak beams. See *Furniture Gazette*, March 4, 1882, 143. After Lloyd's was liquidated in 1921, Woolworth's bought the enlarged premises in 1923 for its first store, making use of the Fore Street entrance during its six short years in that location. Most of this history draws upon the 2015 research of Hannah Korn, then collections specialist, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters (MMA Medieval Dept. files).

11 "Graphic Society," *TEFP*, March 4, 1863; Cotton 1873; "Old Residents of South Street," *TEFP*, November 19, 1873; Dymond 1880, 393, 409–10; *Exeter Memories* 2009.

12 Collections of drawings devoted to the building include those of John Carter at the British Library, John Gendall and others at the Devon Heritage Centre, Edward Ashworth at the Devon and Exeter Institution, and Solomon Hart at the Royal Academy of Arts, London.

13 Allan 2014.

14 Ashworth's sketch at the Devon and Exeter Institution (sketchbook 3, page 28) makes clear that he was working from the building's sculptural remnants and from a set of drawings taken at the moment of its demolition now held by the Devon Heritage Centre.

15 On changes in staircases in sixteenth-century non-aristocratic English homes, see Portman 1966, 14–15, 50, for Exeter specifically; and Hamling and Richardson 2017, 224–25, for a general discussion.

16 Formerly at 17 Grand'Rue. Numerous other examples can still be found in situ in Morlaix, including the so-called Maison de la Duchesse Anne at 33, rue du Mur, and the example that is part of the Musée de Morlaix at 9 Grand'Rue.

17 Daniel Leloup has devoted much of his career to the study of these houses. See especially Leloup 1996; Leloup 2015; and Leloup 2017.

18 Allan 2014. See also Kowaleski 2021.

19 Allan 2014 provides other examples of Breton architectural embellishment in Devon. My thanks to Richard Parker for kindly pointing out to me the house on 46 High Street in Exeter, which may well have also been built in the Morlaix style.

20 The Ashworth sketchbook depicts two interior corbels: one an angel and the other a foliate design.

21 Marianne and Robert Stribling Cornish were likely the owners of the building at the time of the facade removal. Richard Ford had purchased his cottage in nearby Heavitree in 1834, decorating it over the next two years with scavenged architectural elements that included the "gates, the staircase, much of the paneling and carved woodwork" from the King John Tavern. Ford 1905, 146.

22 See note 10 above.

23 The five column figures (1974.295.1–.3 and 1978.405.1–.2) all went to the Cornish family, remaining with their descendants (named Mowbray) until the sculptures' sale at auction in 1972 to two different dealers, who sold them to The Met in succession, in 1974 and 1978, though with no indication of their original setting. In 2004 Exeter archaeologist John R. L. Thorp, upon visiting The Cloisters, recognized that the sculptures came from the King John Tavern. For the complete provenance of the two sets of sculptures, see the object records on the Museum website (www.metmuseum.org).

24 Allan's 2014 article is essentially the first substantive mention since the nineteenth century. The sculptures themselves remained in storage for twenty years or more until 2022, when they were brought out for significant conservation work by Mechthild Baumeister and Lucretia Kargère, conservators, Department of Objects Conservation, The Met, and an exhibition at The Met Cloisters organized by the present author: *Rich Man, Poor Man: Art, Class, and Commerce in a Late Medieval Town* (March 6, 2023–February 4, 2024).

25 See the Dacre beasts (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. W.6-2000, W.7-2000, W.8-2000, W.9-2000) and the corbel bracket of a wild man (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. W.6-.1928).

26 Ian Tyers, "Tree-Ring Analysis of Carved Architectural Supports Formerly from a Merchants House, South Street, Exeter, Devon," Dendrochronological Consultancy Report 1395, August 2022 (in MMA Medieval Department files). The dating derives from analysis of MMA 1974.295.1. In terms of locational data, the strongest matches are not in Devon, but farther north, in the

West Midlands. Tyers's work firmly excludes a tree origin in France, which affirms John Allan's thesis that the works were carved in England by immigrant Breton artists, not shipped from Brittany pre-carved.

27 By the 1970s the polychrome surface decoration had been thoroughly stripped, leaving only traces behind.

28 Dymond 1880, 409–10; Leloup 2015, 73.

29 On the rising use of monograms by the merchant class in this period, see Morgan 2009.

30 Rowe 1977. The men's names are Henry (Harry) Hull; Henry Henshewe; Henry Holway; Henry Hensthowe; Harry Holonde; Harry (Henry) Hayman; Hugh Higgys; Henry Harrys; Henry Hamlyn; Henry Herrell; Henry Holsdyn; Henry Horne; Humphrey Hawke; and Humphrey Holmeide.

31 The merchant Henry Harrys (or Harris, d. 1559) lived in the Parish of St. Pancras.

32 TNA, PROB 11/33/212: "I will that my doughter Elizabeth shall haue and enyoye my house at lytle style in the parysh of Sainct George in Exetor wherein I dwell nowe."

33 Caution is required, but a tantalizing court case of 1521 involving a new construction project by Henry Hamlyn may suggest that construction was underway in 1521. In the case, the dean and chapter of Exeter's cathedral charge that the height and placement of a new house (in an unspecified location) Hamlyn is building blocks light flowing into their edifice. Baker 2010, 647–48.

34 On Exeter's rising prosperity in this period, see MacCaffrey 1958; Carus-Wilson 1963; and Youings 1974. On Exeter's earlier economy, see Kowaleski 1995. On the merchant class later in the sixteenth century, see Hoskins 1961.

35 Wylford v. Hamlyn, TNA, C1/1090/53-56.

36 Williams 2020, 1:245, 259–60, 264; 2:372–75.

37 Kirk and Hawkyard 1982.

38 I borrow the apt theater metaphor from Wallace T. MacCaffrey's classic study of Exeter's oligarchy and its monopoly on the city's wealth and power. MacCaffrey 1958, 146.

39 Gray 2005, 86. One court document describes him as "a man of great riches" (Kirk and Hawkyard 1982). Hamlyn is among the ten men in the Military Survey of 1522 worth more than £100. Additionally, tax assessments and court records in the TNA indicate that he possessed revenue-producing properties in several parishes in Exeter as well in neighboring communities; see Rowe 1977.

40 Todd Gray's 2005 transcription of Hooker's Commonplace Book or Annals (Book 51 in the Exeter City Archives) says "Britain," which should be understood as Brittany. See Kirk and Hawkyard 1982.

41 Carus-Wilson 1963; Touchard 1967; Childs 1992; Youings 1992; Maunder 2018, 8–12.

42 Crest cloth, sometimes called "cress" or "crees cloth," seems a geographic rather than qualitative designation, used strictly for the linen sold from Brittany to southwest England. See Cox and Dannehl 2007.

43 Crocker 2016, vol. 1, nos. 33B, 38B, and Maunder 2018, 8.

44 MacCaffrey 1958, 258; Kirk and Hawkyard 1982.

45 Emery 2005; Kowaleski 2006; Maddern 2006; Hamling and Richardson 2017; French 2021.

46 Platt 1994, 1–27.

47 Leloup 2017, 20–23. The Exeter house, for instance, shows a later evolution of the staircase and a seemingly unique approach to its facade decoration.

48 Hooker 1765, 141–42; Jenkins 1806, 104; MacCaffrey 1958, 75–76; Gray 2005, 86–87; Williams 2020, 2:412.

49 Hooker 1919, part III:916–17; Youings 1952.

50 Youings 1974, 13.

51 For example, Hamlyn's personal contributions to the Corporation of the City of Exeter were given on the condition that it build a canal that would give the city direct access to its nearest port (Kirk and Hawkyard 1982).

52 MacCaffrey 1958.

53 The classic study of the role of entertainment and pageantry in the civic life of medieval towns is Phythian-Adams 1972. Countless others have followed.

54 Wasson 1986, xv–xviii; Johnston 2003.

55 For entertainment expenses in the Receivers' Account Rolls of Exeter 1500–1550, see Wasson 1986, 391–409.

56 Ibid., 455–529; Brayshay 2005.

57 MacCaffrey 1958, 271.

58 The literature on farce is vast. Excellent introductions are found in Harvey 1941 as well as the inviting introduction in Enders 2011, 1–50, which has been crucial for this discussion. On the *sottie*, see Arden 1980 and Ross 2010.

59 Wasson 1986, 401–2.

60 Brayshay 2005, 435.

61 I rely here upon the "REED (Records of Early English Drama): Patrons and Performances" database, which allows a search of the Devon records by city, date, and venue; https://library2.utm.utoronto.ca/otra/reed/.

62 Nichols 2020, 139.

63 MacCaffrey 1958, 247–50; Osborne 2016. Based on the 1524/25 Lay Subsidies, MacCaffrey divides the population of Exeter into an upper 6%, middle 20%, and lower 74%, with half the city's property, based on assessed value, owned by 3% of the population. MacCaffrey (1958, 249) states, "Not only was wealth concentrated in the hands of a few. . . . Grinding poverty was the lot of more than half the population."

64 Leinwand 1982; Hill 2011.

65 Collingwood 1996, 21; Chase and Ortolá 1986. For the script, see Fournier 1873 (Fr.) and Holbrook 1914 (Eng.).

66 In a 2021 conversation with the present author, Hannah Korn astutely noted the merchant's mark of an important Tiverton merchant, John Waldron (d. 1579), on Solomon Hart's drawing of a fireplace in the King John Tavern (Royal Academy of Arts, London, inv. RA03/7348), suggesting that the house continued as a symbol of mercantile success for at least one more owner. (It appears the home stayed in the Waldron family for several generations. See note 10 above.) On Waldron's crucial role in the Tiverton-Exeter cloth trade, see Maunder 2018.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

TEFP *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*
TNA The National Archives, Kew

Allan, John
2014 "Breton Woodworkers in the Immigrant Communities of South-West England, 1500–1550." *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 48, no. 2, 320–56.

Arden, Heather
1980 *Fools' Plays: A Study of Satire in the Sottie*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Baker, John
2010 *Baker and Milsom Sources of English Legal History: Private Law to 1750*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Brayshay, Mark
2005 "Waits, Musicians, Bearwards, and Players: The Inter-Urban Road Travel and Performances of Itinerant Entertainers in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England." *Journal of Historical Geography* 31, no. 3 (July): 430–58.
Carus-Wilson, E. M.
1963 *The Expansion of Exeter at the Close of the Middle Ages*. Harte Memorial Lecture in Local History, 1961. Exeter: Exeter University Press.
Chase, Carol J., and Marie-Sol Ortolá
1986 "The Ideology of Deception in 'La Farce de Maistre Pathelin.'" *Modern Language Studies* 16, no. 3, 134–48.
Childs, W. R.
1992 "Devon's Overseas Trade in the Late Middle Ages." In *The New Maritime History of Devon,* vol. 1, *From Early Times to the Late Eighteenth Century*, edited by Michael Duffy, 79–89. London: Conway Maritime Press in association with the University of Exeter.
Collingwood, Sharon L.
1996 *Market Pledge and Gender Bargain: Commercial Relations in French Farce, 1450–1550*. Studies in the Humanities 23. New York: Peter Lang.
Cotton, William
1873 *An Elizabethan Guild of the City of Exeter: An Account of the Proceedings of the Society of Merchant Adventurers during the Latter Half of the Sixteenth Century*. Exeter: William Pollard.
Cox, Nancy, and Karin Dannehl
2007 "Crest Cloth." In *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities 1550–1820. British History Online*. Wolverhampton: University of Wolverhampton. https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/traded-goods-dictionary/1550-1820/crab-crest-tile#h2-s22.
Crocker, Jannine, ed.
2016 *Elizabethan Inventories and Wills of the Exeter Orphans' Court*. 2 vols. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, n.s., 56–57. Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society.
Demolition Exeter
2012 "Demolition Exeter: A Brief History of South Street." *Demolition Exeter: A Century of Destruction in an English Cathedral City* (blog), posted by wolfpaw on June 18. http://demolition-exeter.blogspot.com/2012/06/brief-history-of-south-street.html.
Dymond, Robert
1880 "The Old Inns and Taverns of Exeter." *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 12 (July): 387–416.
Emery, Anthony
2005 "Late-Medieval Houses as an Expression of Social Status." *Historical Research* 78, no. 200 (May): 140–61.
Enders, Jody, ed. and trans.
2011 *"The Farce of the Fart" and Other Ribaldries: Twelve Medieval French Plays in Modern English*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Exeter Memories
2009 "King John's Tavern—87 South Street." In *Exeter Memories* (blog), posted October 29, 2009. http://www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/_pubs/kingjohn.php.
Ford, Richard
1905 *The Letters of Richard Ford, 1798–1858*. Edited by Rowland E. Prothero. London: John Murray.
Fournier, Edouard
1873 *La vraie farce de Maître Pathelin: Mise en trois actes et en vers modernes*. Edition d'amateur avec deux Eaux-fortes de Léon Gaucherel. [3rd ed.] Microform. Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles.
French, Katherine L.
2021 *Household Goods and Good Households in Late Medieval London: Consumption and Domesticity after the Plague*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Gentleman's Magazine
1838 J.G.N. "King John's Tavern, Exeter." *Gentleman's Magazine* 9, no. 5 (May): 484–85.
Gray, Todd, ed.
2005 *The Chronicle of Exeter, 1205–1722*. Originals written by John Hooker, Samuel Izacke, Richard Izacke, and Richard Crossing. Exeter: Mint Press.
Hamling, Tara, and Catherine Richardson
2017 *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500–1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Harvey, Howard Graham
1941 *The Theatre of the Basoche: The Contribution of the Law Societies to French Mediaeval Comedy*. Harvard Studies in Romance Languages 17. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Hill, Tracey
2011 *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585–1639*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Holbrook, Richard Thayer, trans.
1914 *Master Pierre Patelin: A Farce in Three Acts; Composed Anonymously about 1464 A.D*. Boston: W. H. Baker.
Hooker, John
1765 *The Antient History and Description of the City of Exeter: . . . Also a Curious Account of the Antiquity, Foundation, and Building of St. Peter's Cathedral Church. With a Catalogue of All the Bishops of Tawton, Crediton, and Exeter, . . . Compiled and Digested from the Works of Hooker, Izacke, and Others*. Exeter: R. Trewman.
1919 *The Description of the Citie of Excester by John Vowell alias Hoker, Gentleman and Chamberlayne of the Same*. Transcribed and edited from a manuscript in the Archives of the Corporation of the City of Exeter by Walter J. Harte, J. W. Schopp, and H. Tapley-Soper. Parts II–III. Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society. Index published 1947 as Part I.
Hoskins, W. G.
1961 "The Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter." In *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale,* edited by S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield, and C. H. Williams, 163–87. London: University of London.
Jenkins, Alexander
1806 *The History and Description of the City of Exeter. . . .* Exeter: P. Hedgeland.
Johnston, Alexandra F.
2003 "The Feast of Corpus Christi in the West Country." *Early Theatre* 6, no. 1, 15–34.
Kirk, L. M., and A. D. K. Hawkyard
1982 "Hamlin, Henry (by 1484–1549/50), of Exeter, Devon." In *History of Parliament Online*. 1982. http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/hamlin-henry-1484-154950.

Kowaleski, Maryanne

1995 *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2006 “A Consumer Economy.” In *A Social History of England, 1200–1500*, edited by Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod, 238–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2021 “Breton Immigration in Late Medieval England.” In *People, Power, and Identity in the Late Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of W. Mark Ormrod*, edited by Gwilym Dodd, Helen Lacey, and Anthony Musson, 115–34. London and New York: Routledge.

Lega-Weekes, Ethel

1915 *Some Studies in the Topography of the Cathedral Close Exeter*. Exeter: J. G. Commin.

Leinwand, Theodore B.

1982 “London Triumphing: The Jacobean Lord Mayor’s Show.” *Clio* 11, no. 2, 137–53.

1999 *Theatre, Finance and Society in Early Modern England*. Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leloup, Daniel

1996 *La maison urbaine en Trégor aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

2015 *Demeures remarquables de Bretagne. Les maisons à Pondalez du siècle d’or: Morlaix*. Morlaix: Skol Vreizh.

2017 *Les maisons à Pondalez: L’habitat urbain des nobles commerçants à Morlaix du XV^e^ au XVII^e^ siècle*. Morlaix: Musée du Morlaix. First published 1993.

MacCaffrey, Wallace T.

1958 *Exeter, 1540–1640: The Growth of an English County Town*. Harvard Historical Monographs 35. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Maddern, Philippa C.

2006 “Social Mobility.” In *A Social History of England, 1200–1500*, edited by Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod, 113–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maunder, Peter

2018 *Tiverton Cloth: The Story of the Town’s Woollen Trade, 1475–1815*. Exeter: The author.

Morgan, Nigel

2009 “The Monograms, Arms, and Badges of the Virgin Mary in Late Medieval England.” In *Signs and Symbols: Proceedings of the 2006 Harlaxton Symposium*, edited by John Cherry and Ann Payne, 53–63. Harlaxton Medieval Studies 18. Donington: Shaun Tyas.

Nichols, Tom

2020 “Motives of Control/Motifs of Creativity: The Visual Imagery of Poverty in Early Modern Europe.” In *The Routledge History of Poverty, c. 1450–1800*, edited by David Hitchcock and Julia McClure, 138–63. London: Routledge.

Osborne, Kate

2016 “Illuminating the Chorus in the Shadows: Elizabethan and Jacobean Exeter, 1550–1610.” 3 vols. PhD thesis, University of Exeter.

Parker, Richard, and John Allan

2015 “The Transformation of the Building Stock of Exeter, 1450–1700.” In *West Country Households, 1500–1700*, edited by John Allan, Nat Alcock, and David Dawson, 35–68. Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Monograph 9. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press.

Phythian-Adams, Charles

1972 “Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry, 1450–1550.” In *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500–1700: Essays in Urban History*, edited by Peter Clark and Paul Slack, 57–85. London: Routledge & Kegan.

Platt, Colin

1994 *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in Architectural Taste*. London: University College London Press.

Portman, Derek

1966 *Exeter Houses: 1400–1700*. Exeter: University of Exeter.

Ross, Lia B.

2010 “You Had to Be There: The Elusive Humor of the Sottie.” In *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, Its Meaning, and Consequences*, edited by Albrecht Classen, 621–50. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 5. New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Rowe, Margery M.

1977 *Tudor Exeter: Tax Assessments, 1489–1595, Including the Military Survey, 1522*. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, n.s., 22. Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society.

Stevenson, Laura Caroline

2002 *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature*. Pbk. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. First published 1984.

Stow, John

1580 *The Chronicles of England from Brute vnto This Present Yeare of Christ. 1580. Collected by Iohn Stow, Citizen of London*. London: Ralphe Newberie.

Sullivan, Ceri

2002 *The Rhetoric of Credit: Merchants in Early Modern Writing*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

Tinkle, Robert

2020 “Fair Games: Play, Capital, and the English Renaissance Imagination.” PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

2021 “‘To Cast with Cunning’; or, Marlowe’s Market Players.” *Renaissance Drama* 49, no. 1 (Spring): 1–27.

Touchard, Henri

1967 *Le commerce maritime breton à la fin du Moyen Age*. Annales littéraires de l’Université de Nantes, fasc. 1. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Wasson, John M., ed.

1986 *Devon*. Records of Early English Drama. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Williams, Paul

2020 “The Trading Community of Exeter 1470–1570 with Special Reference to Merchants and Tailors.” 2 vols. PhD thesis, University of Exeter.

Youings, Joyce A.

1952 “The City of Exeter and the Property of the Dissolved Monasteries.” *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 84: 122–41.

1974 *Early Tudor Exeter: The Founders of the County of the City. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered in the University of Exeter on 1 March 1974*. Exeter: University of Exeter.

1992 “Seafaring and Maritime Trade in Sixteenth Century Devon.” In *The New Maritime History of Devon*, vol. 1, *From Early Times to the Late Eighteenth Century*, edited by Michael Duffy, 98–107. London: Conway Maritime Press in association with the University of Exeter.

Ottoman Tastemaker Robert-Sadia Pardo and a Sixteenth-Century Prayer Rug in The Met

AYŞE ALDEMİR

A black-and-white photograph of an old rug, found in the estate of an Istanbul carpet master who continued to repair such works using traditional Ottoman methods, has newly been identified as a representation of a sixteenth-century prayer rug in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The photograph shows the rug prior to its restoration in Istanbul (figs. 1, 2). The discovery of the photograph not only documents the appearance of the rug before restoration in Istanbul, but also uncovers the rich story of Robert-Sadia Pardo, a principal tastemaker of the complex international market for Islamic art at the turn of the twentieth century, when the Ottoman Empire was in decline.[1] Pardo was responsible for arranging the rug's loan in 1905 to The Met, where just over a decade later it would become part of the permanent collection.

Metropolitan Museum Journal, volume 59, 2024. Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with the University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1086/734019. © 2024 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

fig. 1 Prayer rug, 16th century. Attributed to Iran. Silk (warp and weft), wool (pile), metal-wrapped thread; asymmetricaly knotted thread, brocaded, 63½ × 43¼ in. (161.3 × 109.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917 (17.120.124)

fig. 2 Photograph of prayer rug (MMA 17.120.124; see fig. 1) prior to its restoration in Istanbul. Collection of the author

PRAYER RUG

The niche prayer rug, named for its niche design, was woven in central Persia, probably about 1560–80.[2] Decorated with inscriptions in *kufic*, *thuluth*, and *ta'liq* calligraphic script styles, its distinctive design features a wide main border with verses from the Qur'anic surah Al-Baqarah (Qur'an II: Baqarah/The Cow: 256). Within this border are four dark red, square medallions, inscribed with verses from the surahs Al-Anbiyā (Qur'an XXI: Anbiyā/The Prophets: 87) and Hud (Qur'an XI: Hud/Hud: 88) in square *kufic* script. A dark red outer guard band is further inscribed with verses from the surah Al-Baqarah (Qur'an II: Baqarah/The Cow: 285–86) and a green inner guard band with verses from the surah Al-Araf (Qur'an VII: Araf/The Elevated Place: 203–6). Around the niche are cloudlike cartouches in light and dark blue, orange, red, black, and white, inscribed with the *Asmâ-ul Hüsnâ* (titles of Allah).

A rug identical to this one in design, colors, and inscriptions can be found in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.[3] The similarity between the two rugs is astonishing, almost as though they were woven together.[4] One of the reasons Persian rugs were so abundantly found in Ottoman territories is that they were sent to the court as diplomatic gifts, particularly during the reigns of Süleyman I (r. 1520–66), Selim II (r. 1566–74), and Murad III (r. 1574–95).[5] Another reason is that the Ottoman armies advancing into Safavid lands brought back these precious carpets as spoils of war. Several Persian niche rugs are still preserved in the Topkapı Palace.[6] Although these niche rugs often have the same design, their details may differ. In some examples the main border may be divided into cartouches, the geometric forms of the four medallions on the main border may vary, different verses and surahs may be preferred, or the *Asmâ-ul Hüsnâ* clouds around the niche may be woven in a single color. Although the overall design is always preserved, no two prayer rugs are as alike as those in The Met and the Topkapı Palace. Pardo, who acquired one of these luxurious prayer rugs fit for a sultan, albeit in a dilapidated state, was responsible for giving it new life and transporting it to New York.

ROBERT-SADIA PARDO

One of the most active collectors and antiques dealers from Istanbul in the early twentieth century was Robert-Sadia Pardo, an Ottoman Jew whose family was from Livorno, Italy, and who was interacting closely with collectors in Europe and the United States (fig. 3). Pardo's grandfather worked for the palace during the

fig. 3 Photograph of Robert-Sadia Pardo, probably 1910s in Paris. Pardo family archive

reign of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–39), producing the gold fringes for the sultan's clothing.[7] This family expertise in weaving informed Pardo's professional dealings with textiles.

Oriental art, as it was then known, especially rare artifacts from the palace and newly woven carpets that Pardo brought together in The Oriental Museum, are now in prominent collections around the world.[8] Pardo appears to have been the director of the enterprise (it was much more than an average antiques shop), which is referred to in archival documents either by its English name or as "Şark Müzehanesi" in Turkish, "Le Musée Oriental" in French. The owner and financier was Ohannes Agopyan (d. 1908), but it is evident that The Oriental Museum was firmly Pardo's creation.[9] Pardo, who was born in Istanbul in 1862, was first recorded in commercial city records in 1896.[10] He married the Istanbul-born Marie-Thérèse Zulich and had three children, named Benito, Rachel, and Ferdinand. From 1913 until his death in 1926, he continued his trade in Paris at 64, rue la Boétie.

In August 1896, the *Stamboul* newspaper mentioned the antiques shop that would soon open in Istanbul, citing Pardo as its director.[11] The article indicates that Pardo had gained prior experience working at the well-known antiques house owned by Sadullah Bey, Robert Levi, and Elia Souhami, called Elia Souhami Sadullah & Company.[12] After the opening of The Oriental Museum, the *Stamboul* praised Pardo's direction of the international firm.[13]

One of the firm's first European customers was the painter Nélie Jacquemart-André, who was married to the French banker, politician, and collector Edouard François André. She actively added to her husband's collection after his death in 1894. Surviving invoices from 1898 and 1906 show that Nélie bought Persian rugs, silver bowls, a grille, and a "manuscrit persan" (Persian manuscript) from Pardo.[14] The manuscript is believed to be the well-known album in the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris, made in Istanbul in the sixteenth century.[15]

The earliest surviving text written by Pardo is "Mamulât-i Sınaiyye-i Osmaniye ve İhrâcâtı" (Ottoman Artistic Production and Exports), published in the *İkdam* newspaper on August 5, 1897.[16] Pardo provides detailed information about the luxury artistic production taking place in Ottoman lands, especially weaving, and warns readers against purchasing cheaply produced items. He mentions the great interest shown by European buyers toward high-quality Ottoman goods, and asks the sultan to facilitate international trade by easing customs regulations. He presents this act by the court as one of the essential conditions for promoting Ottoman artistic production. It remains unknown whether this request was met, but Pardo was certainly admired by the court, evidenced by the medal he was awarded shortly thereafter.

Four documents regarding Pardo survive in archives from the Ottoman Empire. The first is from April 1898 and explains that the Medal of Industry was given to the thirty-six-year-old Pardo by the reigning Ottoman sultan, Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909).[17] The Medal of Industry, made of gold or silver, recognized civil merit and was presented to both Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects who had shown loyalty to the sultan and contributed to the advancement of art and agriculture.[18] The medal was given along with the berat, an official document bearing the sultan's tughra. The medal could be worn at any time, hanging off the left lapel. On the front face of these medals, between the rays of sun, was Abdülhamid II's tughra, and beneath it was the coat of arms of the Ottoman Empire. On the reverse, the name of the recipient and the date were written within a laurel wreath.

The document written by the sultan's chief clerk, Tahsin, at the Yıldız Palace on April 5, 1898, and sent to the grand vizier's office commanded that "As it was deemed appropriate by the sultan to give the Medal of Industry to the Antiques Dealer Robert Pardo Efendi,

per the sultan's order, all procedures related to the medal be carried out."[19] Pardo signed the attestation when he received the medal, and the accompanying official berat was also attached to the document. In his report of April 13, 1898, Pardo wrote in his own hand the phrase, "I picked up the berat for the Medal of Industry, which was awarded to me by the Sultan, from the Babıali Documents Room," and signed it "Robert Pardo, Antiques Dealer."[20] The document does not cite the exact reason Pardo was awarded the medal, but it was likely for his contributions to promoting the arts in Istanbul.

The second document, from October 1898, refers to a necktie pin that Pardo made for the German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, as a souvenir of his visit to the capital city of Istanbul.[21] Wilhelm II, Empress Auguste Viktoria, and a large delegation arrived in Istanbul by sea on October 18, 1898. They were hosted by Abdülhamid II before setting out for Haifa, again by sea, on October 22, 1898. There was a great rush of preparation in Istanbul prior to the visit. Gifts were arranged for the emperor and his delegation, and souvenirs were sold to Germans in the city.[22] Pardo's letter of October 23, 1898, to his Italian friend Angelo Scanziani, who worked as a translator and private secretary in the palace on behalf of the sultan, indicates that Pardo had necktie pins produced in honor of the emperor's visit, to sell to Germans living in Istanbul or visiting from abroad (fig. 4).[23] The green enameled pins, made in Europe, featured Ottoman and German flags. Pardo ordered a large quantity of pins at significant cost and sent them to the headquarters of Istanbul newspapers. His publicity effort was successful, as *Sabah* and *İkdam*, two of the leading newspapers, published articles praising the decorative pins.[24]

Pardo may have received another Medal of Industry for his efforts during the German emperor's visit. A document dated January 1900 suggests he was patronized by the Ottoman court. According to a report by Şefik, the minister of police, given to the palace on January 20, 1900:

> An Ottoman coat of arms was hung over the door of the store belonging to the antiques merchants Agopyan Efendi and Monsieur Pardo at the Abud Efendi Inn in Mahmudpaşa. In this ceremony, which other merchants also attended, prayers were offered to the Sultan by Mehmed Efendi, the imam of the Mercimek Mosque, and all those present chanted "Long Live my Sultan." Food was served to all those who attended the ceremony. The police took all necessary security measures.[25]

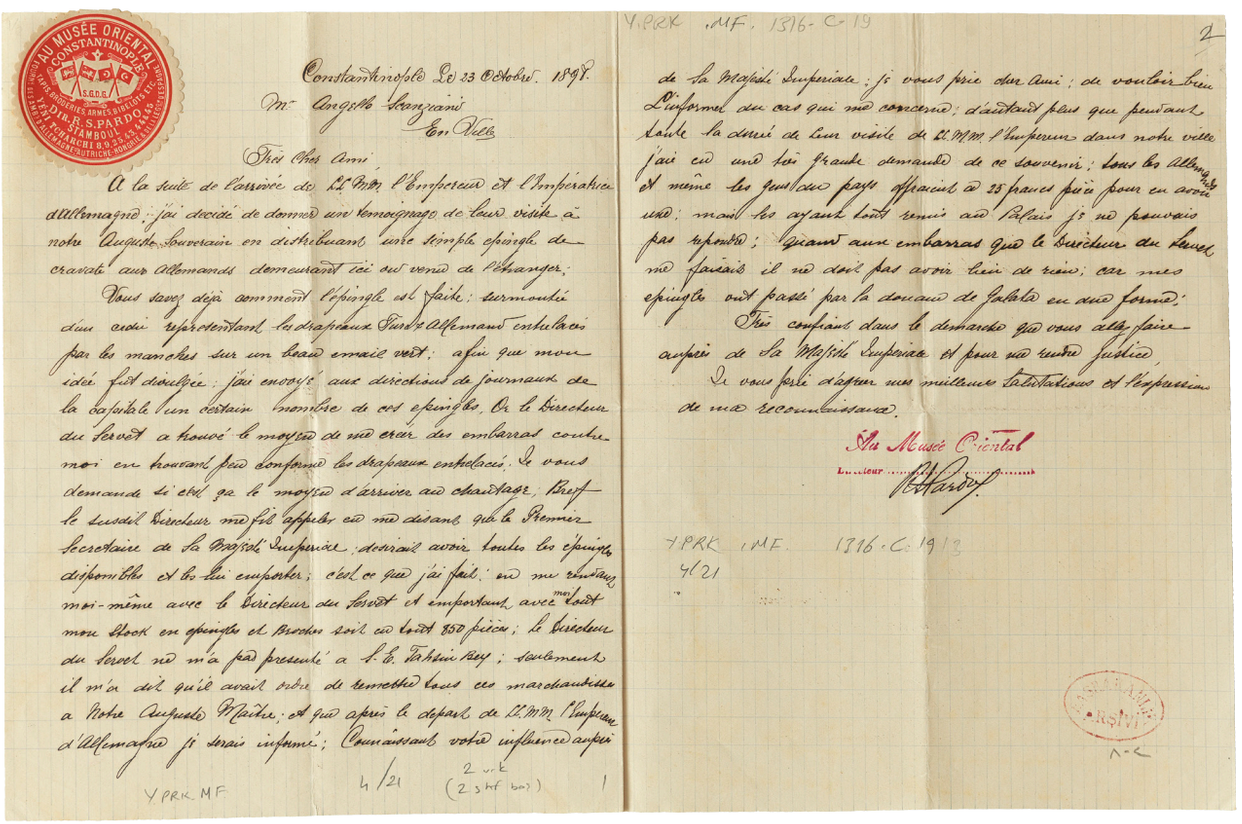

fig. 4 Letter from Robert-Sadia Pardo to Angelo Scanziani, October 23, 1898. Directorate of State Archives, Istanbul (Y.PRK. MF.4/21)

The event demonstrates Pardo's close relationship with the court, which would not have been possible without the patronage of the palace. Furthermore, the fact that the ceremony took place in the shop belonging to the Armenian Agopyan and the Jewish Pardo, Ottoman subjects who were blessed with Islamic prayers by the imam of a mosque, is remarkable in itself, as it provides insight into the daily practices of the multicultural and multireligious Ottoman people.[26]

The final documents, from December 1903 to February 1904, concern photographic plates featuring several famous carpets from abroad, brought to the customs office in Galata, Istanbul, on behalf of Pardo.[27] Due to some confusion regarding the photographs, the customs process (in place for all foreign packages) took longer than expected, leading to much correspondence. In the end, Pardo's statement was taken on the subject. He extracted the photographic plates from customs, stating that he was an antiques dealer and needed them to learn more about the carpets. Clues as to why Pardo required these photographs can be found in a travelogue by the journalist and leader of the evangelical Keswick movement in the United States, Charles Gallaudet Trumbull, describing the impressions of Christian pilgrims visiting Istanbul on their way from New York to Jerusalem in 1904 (fig. 5). Trumbull devoted a long chapter to his recollections of The Oriental Museum. He recounts:

> The contrast between the ordinary shops in the bazaars and such an establishment as that known as "The Oriental Museum," of which the manager is Robert S. Pardo, one of the finest stores in the East, is striking. . . . As we entered the doorway, the air was heavy with the rich fragrance of attar of roses. Through room after room, we were shown veritable treasure houses of Oriental luxuries in jewelry, rugs, furniture, and antiquities. Here was a precious jade-handled sword, the inlaying a lost art, that was already sold, and was to be exhibited at the St. Louis Fair. Diamonds and rubies were there in profusion, and glistening ropes of pearls; one topaz was the size of a hen's egg.
>
> But our greatest interest was in the Oriental rugs in which this house deals. We saw them of almost priceless value, and we saw them in the making. . . . On one particularly beautiful rug was a card that read, "Specially ordered by the United States Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Spencer Eddy, for Mrs. Whitney of New York."[28]

The reference here must be to Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, art collector and sculptor who later cofounded the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1930–31. Trumbull continues to describe the carpets in The Oriental Museum: "Almost as perfect a specimen of work was a silk rug of their own manufacture, six hundred and fifty knots to the inch, an exact copy of a Persian wool rug of the sixteenth century now in the Moscow Museum."[29] Thus, Pardo likely ordered the photographs of the carpets

fig. 5 Postcard showing women at work on looms at The Oriental Museum, 1902. Private collection

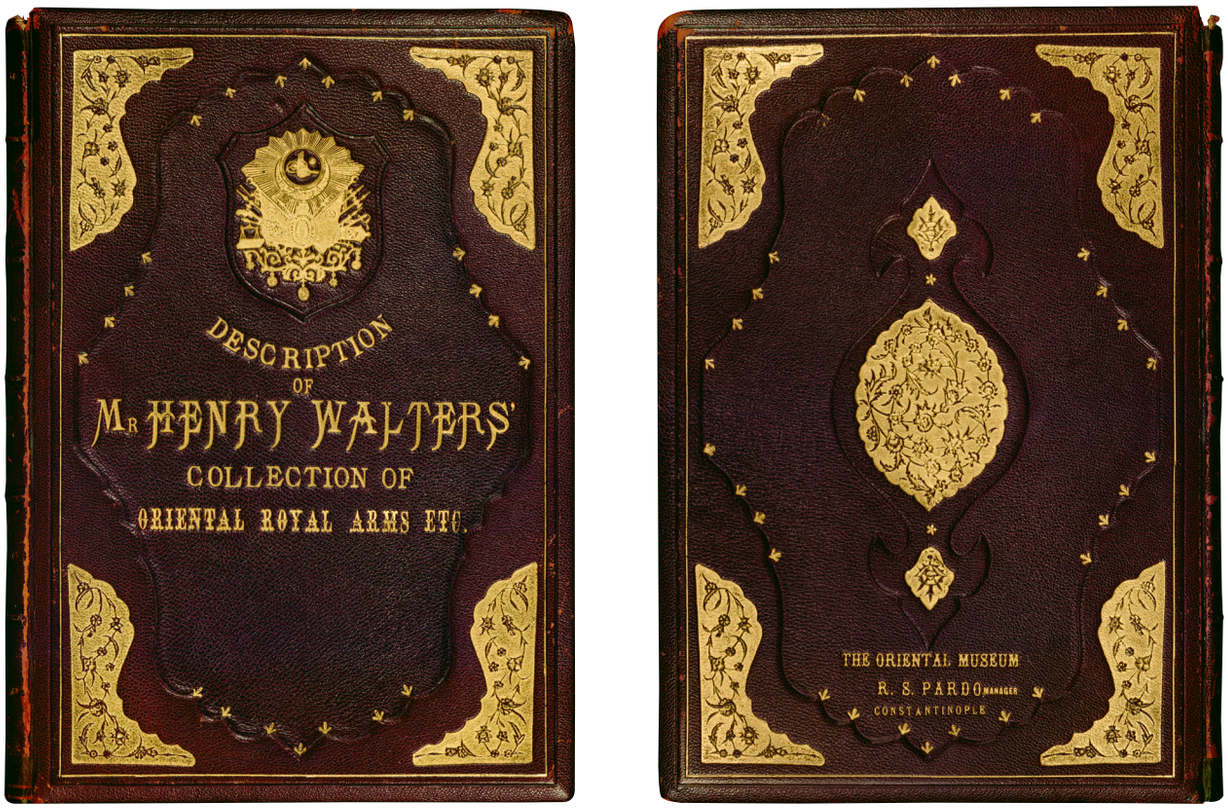

fig. 6 Bookbinding, *Description of Mr. Henry Walters' Collection of Oriental Royal Arms Etc.*, 1903. Leather, approx. 10¾ × 7⅜ in. (27.3 × 18.8 cm). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Acquired by Henry Walters, 1903 (W.848)

abroad and used them as references from which to have copies woven. Carpets commissioned by Pardo were in demand on several continents.

Pardo conducted a dynamic social and business life in Istanbul. An article in the *Stamboul* in February 1901 explains that he decorated the lavish wedding reception of M. Martin Agopyan (son of Pardo's business partner, Ohannes Agopyan) and Monsieur Beşiktaşlıyan's daughter at the Tokatlıyan Hotel.[30] He filled the room with works of art from The Oriental Museum, including rare Persian carpets and fabrics from Rhodes. The article details the "Thousand and One Nights" atmosphere and attendance by notable members of the Armenian aristocracy.

Pardo maintained close relationships with foreign collectors for years. One of the most prominent was the American philanthropist and collector Henry Walters. Walters arrived in Istanbul in summer 1903 on his yacht *Narada*. With a group of friends, including Sadie Jones, whom he would later marry, Walters shopped at The Oriental Museum.[31] In keeping with his distinctive taste and that of his patrons, Pardo prepared an exquisitely bound book documenting a group of Ottoman luxury objects that he sold to Walters in 1903 (fig. 6). The Ottoman-style binding, featuring a central medallion with pendants and cornerpieces, bears the title in gold: *Description of Mr. Henry Walters' Collection of Oriental Royal Arms Etc.* The volume, and the objects catalogued between its covers, are now preserved at The Walters Art Museum in Baltimore. In Pardo's introduction to the book, he explains how he obtained revered works of art from the palace. The text sheds light on the previously unknown aspects of the art trade that were taking place in the capital city of a dying empire at the beginning of the twentieth century, and is worth reproducing in full:[32]

> To those who are unfamiliar with the customs of the East it may seem strange that the most artistic and valuable heirlooms of the royal families find their way from the royal treasury into the hands of private collectors. It is safe to say that in time the uncounted riches, the heaps of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, the crowns, the thrones, the scepters, the jeweled arms, a description of which would surpass the treasures of the days of the Arabian Nights, and which are now stored away in the Royal Treasuries of Turkey and Persia or in the Mosques or in the houses of the wealthy Pashas, will some day be sold secretly or in open market. This is what is actually taking place now and is increasing as time goes on.

fig. 7 Box in the form of a building. Ottoman, 19th century. Turkey. Gilded silver, green stone, rubies (or spinels), emeralds (or beryls), turquoise, shagreen (ray skin), 1 9/16 × 3 3/16 × 2 1/2 in. (3.9 × 8.1 × 6.4 cm). Purchased by Henry Walters from Robert-Sadia Pardo in 1903. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, R. S. Pardo, Constantinople; purchased by Henry Walters, Baltimore, 1903; by bequest to The Walters Art Museum, 1931 (57.849)

According to the Ottoman law when a moslem dies leaving orphan children, a certain amount of his property is sold by the Government, and the proceeds are preserved in a department of the office of the Sheikh-ul-Islam until such time as the children shall be of age. Daily in the Bedesten of the Stambul Bazaars one may purchase at auction old family heirlooms, which have been treasured for centuries. In recent years since Americans and Europeans have been seen more frequently in Constantinople the most noble families, in order to avoid the publicity of an auction sale, have been accustomed to invite the leading merchants of the city to their houses and there the purchases are made.

A practice, which frequently brings some of the most valuable objects within the reach of the public, arises from the favoritism of the Sultan. A prominent Turk who was recently disgraced and exiled, but who formally enjoyed the highest confidence of His Majesty, not only very frequently received gifts of valuable objects from the royal treasury, but was known to have gone to the treasury and told the keeper that the Sultan desired some particular object. The keeper who neither dared to refuse the demand of a powerful royal favorite, nor ask the Sultan if the order had emanated from him, delivered the objects desired and they were either sold at once or kept in his own private collection until his disgrace and exile.

It is still the custom for His Majesty to take into his Harem girls from every part of his Empire and often times from the poorest families. It frequently happens that if the girl becomes a favourite of the Sultan or of his chief eunuchs, she receives from the hands of her imperial master rare gifts from the treasury. These gifts are proudly given in turn to the poorer relatives at home and sooner or later in time of poverty they find their way to the market. Thus at all times and in every part of the Empire there are constantly appearing royal treasures of inestimable value and of unquestionable authenticity, and the Constantinople merchant who is constantly on the lookout may form collections of rugs, swords, blades, knives, engraved brass work, embroideries and other objects used in the royal families of Turkey and Persia, unsurpassed or unequalled by the greatest Museums of the world. The collection now belonging to Mr. Walters is such a one.

The collection, now in The Walters Art Museum, contains jeweled daggers and swords, apparently from the palace; a writing set consisting of a pen box, pen holder, and reed pen; and unusual boxes in architectural forms decorated with rubies, emeralds, and turquoise stones, which Pardo describes as Qur'an holders (fig. 7).[33] Pardo provided descriptions and historical information for each object in the book, sometimes mentioning their original owners, for instance indicating when certain pieces belonged to Süleyman I (the Magnificent), Süleyman II, Ahmed III, and Mahmud I, or other members of the Ottoman nobility. He was particularly impressed by Sadie Jones, who guided Henry Walters during the selection of these items "with a remarkable intuition and knowledge."[34]

Pardo also provided rare objects to New York collectors and businessmen like J. Pierpont Morgan and Charles Lang Freer, as well as museums such as The Met. Correspondence shows that Pardo traveled to

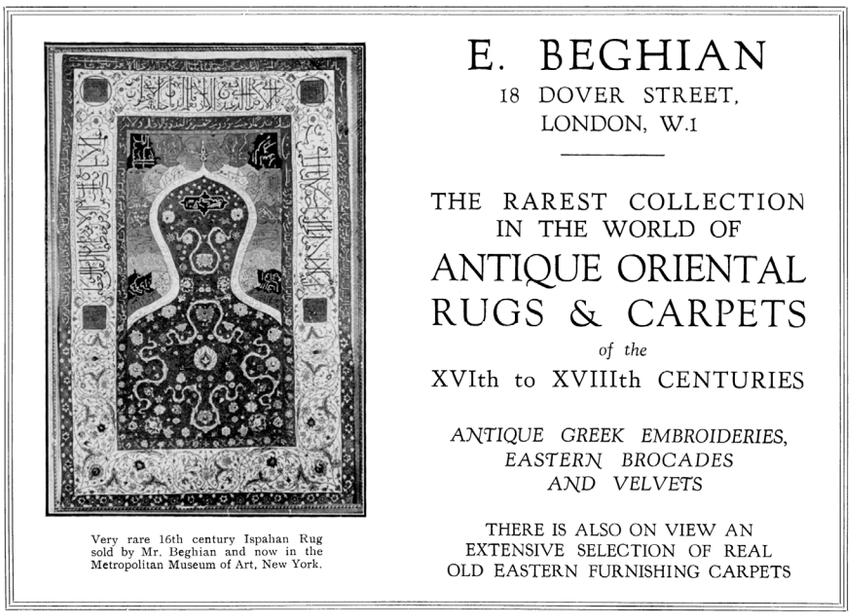
E. BEGHIAN
18 DOVER STREET,
LONDON, W.1
THE RAREST COLLECTION
IN THE WORLD OF
ANTIQUE ORIENTAL
RUGS & CARPETS
of the
XVIth to XVIIIth CENTURIES
ANTIQUE GREEK EMBROIDERIES,
EASTERN BROCADES
AND VELVETS
THERE IS ALSO ON VIEW AN
EXTENSIVE SELECTION OF REAL
OLD EASTERN FURNISHING CARPETS
Very rare 16th century Ispahan Rug sold by Mr. Beghian and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

fig. 8 Advertisement by Edward Beghian, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, December 1926

New York in 1905, lending a sixteenth-century prayer rug to the Museum to be exhibited to the public.[35] In a lengthy text, he explains that the prayer rug was one of two Persian rugs brought to Istanbul from Iran among the spoils of war of the Vizier İbrahim Paşa (d. 1536), who conquered Baghdad during the war between Iran and the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Süleyman I.[36] Kept as a souvenir by İbrahim Paşa's family, it was later bought by Pardo.

In 1904, Pardo told a similar story to G. (George) Lynch, a writer at the *Strand Magazine*.[37] According to the article, "The Romance of a Rug," the Safavid ruler Shah Abbas (r. 1587–1629) sent five carpets to the Ottoman palace during the reign of Sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603) to boast about the magnificence of Persian carpets, and to intensify the rivalry between the carpet workshops at the two palaces. One of the carpets was given as a gift by a favorite in Sultan Mehmed III's harem to her family. The man who brought the carpet to Pardo was a descendant of this family. Pardo explains, "As is customary with those who occupy that position, she was allowed to send to her family presents of articles from the palace, and it was in this way that the rug had come into the possession of his family." As though it were a detective novel, Pardo told Lynch the story of how he bought the carpet from the man, citing an incident in which the sultan, hearing that the man has the carpet, sends the police to his house. The carpet, referred to as "probably the most precious carpet in the world," is said to need repair, and Pardo expresses his desire to complete its restoration and take it to the St. Louis World's Fair.[38] He also states that European and American museums and collectors would admire the carpet, naming Henry Walters as an exemplary collector. Pardo was not the only individual recounting such tales about the works he owned or sold. Dealers of Oriental art during this time were prone to exaggerating and fabricating stories when attempting to convince their buyers of the value of their wares.[39]

A letter Pardo sent in 1907, shortly after lending the prayer rug to The Met, states that he had left The Oriental Museum, and that he wished for the rug to be kept in The Met on consignment. Agopyan, however, sent another letter to the Museum, saying that he was the owner of The Oriental Museum and Pardo's employer, and that the rug belonged to him. The story of this prayer rug in The Met is thus complex, and the many claims on it occupied Museum administrators for years. Finally, in 1910, the Istanbulite-Armenian antiques dealer Edward Beghian bought The Oriental Museum and all the objects in it, thus also assuming ownership of the prayer rug.[40] We know that the prayer rug was donated to The Met by Isaac D. Fletcher in 1917. Presumably, the rug was put up for sale by Beghian and bought by a collector in New York.[41] There is no known documentation indicating whether Fletcher purchased the rug directly from Beghian or from an as yet unidentified collector. What is known is that Beghian remained proud of the sale, and included an image of the rug in his advertisement in the December 1926 issue of *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* (fig. 8). The caption read, "Very rare 16th century Ispahan Rug sold by Mr. Beghian and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York."[42]

RESTORATION AND INFLUENCE OF THE PRAYER RUG IN ISTANBUL

The black-and-white photograph, found by researcher and collector Garo Kürkman in Istanbul entirely by chance, shows the prayer rug before its restoration (fig. 2). Pardo had the rug meticulously repaired before taking it to New York in 1905, most likely by Agop Kapucuyan (d. early 1950s), also known as Şişman Agop. Kapucuyan was one of the carpet masters in Kumkapı, which was established as a center of silk carpet weaving in the 1870s by Armenian carpet weavers from Anatolia, especially from Kayseri, who had settled in this area.[43] Agop Usta, who was also from Kayseri, came to Istanbul in the 1890s and made a name for himself weaving silk carpets in Kumkapı, as well as restoring carpets. During this period, rare antique carpets were taken only to Agop for repair, and Pardo undoubtedly must have known him.[44] Pardo most likely entrusted him with the restoration of

the prayer rug that he planned to take to New York, and the photograph must have been taken at this time.

The photograph shows that the carpet was damaged in transverse lines in at least three places, suggesting that it had been folded and kept in poor conditions for a long time, and had decayed along these lines. The decoration and main border, the outer and inner guard band, the border of the niche, and the inscribed areas in its perimeter were also damaged along the fold lines. It appears that the cartouche directly below the pointed arch forming the niche, inscribed *Allahu ekber kebîra* (Allah is the greatest, the great) on a black background, was in a state of complete disrepair, almost invisible prior to the restoration. Another area that is completely missing in the photograph is in the upper left corner of the rug, where the red-ground, square medallion was later skillfully reconstructed. Compared to the other three worn medallions, it is in impeccable condition. The inscription within the medallion, written in square *kufic* calligraphic script, is taken from the surah Al-Anbiyā, reading *Lâ ilâhe illâ ente subhâneke innî kuntu minez zâlimîn* (There is no god but Thou, glory be to Thee; surely I am of those who make themselves to suffer loss; Qur'an XXI: Anbiyā/The Prophets: 87).

fig. 9 Zareh Penyamin (Ottoman, 1890–1949), weaver. Kumkapı rug, ca. 1900–1910. Silk, 77 9/16 × 51 3/16 in. (197 × 130 cm). Arkas Collection. Arkas Art Bornova, Izmir, Turkey

The completion or rewriting of the damaged and lost inscriptions was also carried out by the Kumkapı craftsman who undertook the repairs. The workshops of the Kumkapı craftsmen who wove silk carpets decorated with script cartouches would have contained numerous models, useful for new textiles as well as for the ones they repaired.[45] The phrases were verses from the Qur'an, prayers, and the titles of Allah, and would have been familiar to the craftsmen. Importantly, the aforementioned exact copy of the prayer rug remained in the Ottoman palace.[46] Pardo and the craftsmen from Kumkapı may have seen the rug. Nevertheless, in some parts of the rug, especially in the border of the niche, there is a visible difference in hand between the relatively more artistic original lettering, and the later restoration work. Similarly, and particularly on the decaying transverse fold on the bottom half of the rug, the restored decorations of the curly branches with *rumî* and *hatâyî* motifs, as well as the knotted Chinese clouds, seem to have been left in a sketchier state than the original. When the rug was documented and conserved by Janina Poskrobko, conservator in charge, Julia Carlson, associate conservator, and Cristina Carr, conservator, in the Department of Textile Conservation at The Met in 2015, this extensive "reweaving" under Pardo's stewardship was left in place, as it was well integrated into the original structure.[47] The treatment of the rug was extensive and skillfully accomplished. It included restoring the missing pile and areas woven with metal thread through the support fabric. The restorers completed the challenging task of reconstructing the original appearance of the rug's fine structure produced by a high density of knots that created a meticulous and sophisticated pattern. However, with time, a tight tension of the support fabric that served as backing for the repairs caused undulation to the surface, splits, and losses. Also, the colors of the restored areas faded, making the treatment visually distinguishable.

The photograph of the prayer rug circulated among workshops in Istanbul, and carpet masters made sketches from it.[48] The masters at Kumkapı, mainly Kapucuyan, produced carpets inspired by originals shown in the photograph. It was these Safavid carpets that found their way out of the Topkapı Palace toward the end of the nineteenth century, and brought the carpet masters of Kumkapı to fame. Carpet weaving continued in Kumkapı until the 1930s.

Early twentieth-century silk Kumkapı prayer rugs—very similar to the sixteenth-century example in The Met—woven by Agop Kapucuyan and Zareh Penyamin (1890–1949), one of the founders of the Kumkapı

workshops, have survived (fig. 9).[49] Penyamin may have referred to the photograph of the prayer rug while weaving his own. He likely passed the photograph to one of his followers, from whom it descended.[50]

PARDO'S IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL COLLECTING OF ISLAMIC ART

According to the writer and traveler Giuseppe Zaccagnini, during the period of contention between Pardo and the Agopyan family in 1907–10, The Oriental Museum continued its activities in the "Stamboul Yenni-Tcharchi," that is, the Abud Efendi Han.[51] One of the collectors it hosted was J. Pierpont Morgan, a regular buyer. In addition to the correspondence preserved in the archives of The Morgan Library and Museum, Pardo's accounts relating to Zaccagnini's visit to The Oriental Museum indicate that Morgan was an enthusiastic customer who shopped there several times a year.[52]

Charles Lang Freer was also a customer of Pardo. Freer came to Istanbul in 1908 and shopped from many antiques dealers in the city. During this visit, Freer bought from Pardo pottery items of various shapes and sizes such as bowls, plates, and vases, among other objects.[53] Pardo's relationship with Freer continued after this trip, and he persuaded collectors to sell coveted antiques to Freer, negotiating and using his diplomatic connections to get these rare works out of Istanbul and send them to the United States. The correspondence between Pardo and Freer contains information regarding the sale of a group of ceramic tiles and other objects owned by Madame Vallaury from Istanbul. Pardo not only succeeded in convincing Vallaury to sell, but also solved the problems that arose during the transportation of the objects to the United States by involving the American Embassy in Istanbul. When the items arrived at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, to which Freer had bequeathed his extensive collection in 1906, Pardo was notified and a letter of thanks was sent.[54] Today, the provenance of various objects in the National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, can be traced to Pardo (fig. 10).[55]

fig. 10 Architectural fragment. Timurid period, ca. 1375–1400. Probably Samarqand. Stonepaste; painted under glaze, 14 9⁄16 × 27 3⁄8 in. (37 × 69.5 cm). Sold by Robert-Sadia Pardo to Charles Lang Freer in 1908. National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Gift of Charles Lang Freer (F1908.192)

Italian citizens began to leave Ottoman lands during the Italo-Turkish War between the Ottoman Empire and Italy in 1911–12. Pardo left Istanbul and moved to Paris in 1913 to be able to continue his trade. An article of April 22, 1913, in *Le Gaulois*, titled "Un Coin d'Orient à Paris" (An Oriental Corner in Paris), heralded Pardo's move,[56] describing him as a palace official who collected antiquities for the sultan, and praising his expertise in rugs and restoration:

> All the French traveling in Istanbul will have visited the house that Mr. R.-S. Pardo has established there, which almost resembles an Oriental museum. During the twenty years that he has had the honor of being the official antiques collector for Sultan Abdülhamid, and the carpet conservation expert of the palaces and mansions belonging to the dynasty, he has patiently created a remarkable collection of precious carpets and rare items, admired by those who were interested in these matters. His guests would visit both a museum and a cultural center, and his house was the elegant epicenter of Istanbul.
>
> Now, we have news that will upset Istanbulites but will make Parisians very happy. Mr. R.-S. Pardo is leaving the Turkish capital and settling down among us. The reason for this is the current war. He has gathered his treasures and unpacked them at 64 La Boétie Street. This newly opened display is already attracting the attention of the elegant high society. The store, in all its splendor and luxury, creates an Oriental atmosphere right in the heart of Paris, though the true splendor and luxury are hidden in the beauty of the objects on display. This is because, presented in a dignified style; it perfectly reflects the self-confident, unique, and distinguished taste of the store's owner. There is no doubt that Istanbulites will mourn Mr. Pardo's departure; however, it is a unique opportunity for us.

Pardo began to place advertisements in newspapers from 1913 onward, adding the phrase "of Constantinople" after his name. Over time, as he became better known in Paris, he removed the appellation.

Pardo's close relationship with the press in Istanbul and Paris resulted in numerous articles that now help researchers reconstitute his career. For instance, a piece

in *Le Journal* on December 26, 1914, explains that Pardo temporarily reopened his antiques shop, which had closed during wartime, to Belgian refugees.[57] The reporter praises the exciting and unexpected transformation taking place in one of the most vibrant and fashionable districts of Paris, stating that he looks forward to the days when the war is over, and Pardo's shop is full of art lovers once more. An article in the art publication *Le Cousin Pons* on March 1, 1916, confirms that Pardo's store indeed reopened.[58] Finally, in January 1920, *Le Temps* lauded the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century carpets from Pardo's collection as central to efforts making antique and luxury carpets fashionable again, preventing the loss of traditional crafts as a result of the widespread use of industrial methods during the early twentieth century.[59]

Obituaries for Pardo were published in *Excelsior* and *Le Matin* on June 27, 1926.[60] Shortly before his death, in December 1925, pieces from his collection were exhibited and auctioned in New York by Armenian art dealer and collector S. Kent Costikyan, who had also emigrated from Anatolia.[61] Following Pardo's death, various precious rugs from his collection were sold.[62] Pardo bequeathed the knowledge of his trade to his three children, and his son Benito inherited the business. His article "Les tapis de prière persans," published in *L'Art vivant* in February 1932, was accompanied by photographs of carpets from his father's collection.[63] Pieces that Benito donated or sold are now in the collections of The Met and the Louvre.[64] Benito's sons, Richard and Robert Pardo, continued their grandfather's business in Paris, eventually becoming best known for their purchase in 1986 of what is now accepted to be an authentic work by Nicolas Poussin, *The Flight into Egypt* (1657–58; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon).[65]

Robert-Sadia Pardo made an extraordinary contribution to the cultural and artistic spheres of Istanbul and Paris, and toward bringing Islamic art to museums and collections in the United States and Europe. The history, provenance, and restoration of the sixteenth-century prayer rug in The Met attest to Pardo's industriousness and tenacity. He excelled in skillfully acquiring objects from the Ottoman palace, building private collections, working with expert restorers, lending pieces to museums, fostering diplomatic and cultural relations, and promoting his successful business. Given his role in enriching international collections of Islamic art, his name deserves a rightful place among the great collectors and dealers of the early twentieth century.

AYŞE ALDEMİR, PHD
Head of the Arts of the Book and Calligraphy Collection, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, Sabancı University, Emirgan-Istanbul

NOTES

1 My research on Robert-Sadia Pardo resulted from my doctoral thesis, "Turkish Arts of the Book between 1850 and 1950," and later evolved into the talk I gave titled "Robert-Sadia Pardo and 'The Oriental Museum'" at the "Jewish Collectors and Patterns of Taste (ca. 1850–1930)" conference, held as part of the Oxford University Jewish Country Houses project at Sorbonne Université in Paris, June 27–29, 2022. The pre-restoration photograph of the prayer rug in question was sent to me by Garo Kürkman immediately following this talk, for which I am grateful to him. I thank Ada Berktay for the translation of this article into English.

2 Michael Franses catalogued these niche rugs; see Franses 1999 (especially 81–100).

3 Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, inv. 13/2042.

4 Michael Franses and Ian Bennett argue that the close resemblance can be explained only by a detailed technical comparison of the two rugs to determine whether they are contemporaries or copies of each other; see Franses and Bennett 1988. The black-and-white photograph (fig. 2) showing the rug in its pre-restoration state would be an important source for such a study.

5 Some of the miniatures depicting precious gifts sent from the Safavid shahs to the Ottoman sultans can be found in the *Süleymannâme* in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (dated 1578, inv. T 413, folio 14b), in the *Şahnâme* in the Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (ca. 1570, inv. A. 3595, folio 54b), and in the *Şehinşahnâme* in the Istanbul University Library (dated 1581, inv. F.1404, fols. 41b–42a); see Franses 1999, 38–42.

6 Topkapı Palace, inv. 13/2161, 2008, 2013, 2011, 2039, 2028, 2160, 2159, 2051, 2163, 2019, 2035, 2021, 2005, 2030, 2009, 2018, 2162, 2040, 2017, and 2033. Franses suggests that many similar rugs in museums and collections today may have originated in Istanbul, either in the palace or in mosques; see Franses 1999, 42.

7 Zaccagnini 1909, 211. See also Pannuti 2008, 572.

8 Another art dealer of Ottoman origin, Dikran Kelekian, opened his gallery, Le Musée de Bosphore, at 303 Fifth Avenue in New York, when he traveled to the United States to attend the World's

Columbian Exposition, Chicago, in 1893. Pardo established The Oriental Museum in Istanbul shortly after Kelekian's gallery opened.

9 In documents and newspaper articles Pardo is alternately referred to as Agopyan's partner, or as the director.

10 Based on travel records contained at ancestry.com indicating Pardo's age as forty-two in 1904 and forty-three in 1905, his year of birth is thought to be 1862. I thank Ashley Dimmig, Anna Clarkson, and Lynley Herbert for sharing this information with me.

11 "Une nouvelle Maison d'Antiquités," *Stamboul*, August 22, 1896, 1.

12 For more on the company owned by partners Souhami, Sadullah, and Levi and its role in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, see Cohen 2016.

13 There is no known documentation as to whether Pardo participated in a world's fair representing the Ottoman Empire other than the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 (see note 38 below). However, the fact that previously he had worked for Sadullah Bey, Robert Levi, and Elia Souhami suggests that he would have been exposed to those antiques dealers' preparations for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. "Au Musée Oriental," *Stamboul*, October 2, 1896, 1.

14 Invoices, October 12, 1898, and April 18, 1906; Archives of the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris.

15 Musée Jacquemart-André, inv. 261.

16 R.-S. Pardo 1897.

17 Directorate of State Archives, Istanbul (inv. İ-TAL 134/15). Pardo later included images of this medal and a second one awarded on January 4, 1905, at the top of his invoices. Although the medals have not survived, the accompanying documents remain in the Pardo family collection.

18 For insignia and medals in the Ottoman Empire, see Eldem 2004. For the Medal of Industry, see ibid., 290.

19 I thank Fuat Recep for his translation of these archival documents from Ottoman Turkish into contemporary Turkish.

20 April 13, 1898, report, Directorate of State Archives, Istanbul (inv. İ-TAL 134/15).

21 Directorate of State Archives, Istanbul (inv. Y.PRK.MF.4/21).

22 For the visit by the German emperor and empress and the gifts they were presented, see Baytar 2009.

23 Grange 1994, 491.

24 *Sabah* and *İkdam*, October 20, 1898.

25 Directorate of State Archives, Istanbul (inv. Y.PRK.ZB.24/32).

26 For more on the national consciousness of Jewish citizens in the Ottoman Empire, see Cohen 2014.

27 Directorate of State Archives, Istanbul (inv. DH.MKT.808/33).

28 Trumbull 1905, 110–11.

29 Ibid., 112.

30 "Mariage Mondain," *Stamboul*, February 11, 1901, 2. I thank Deniz Ebru Leblebici for translating the newspaper articles from French to Turkish. When the Tokatlıyan Hotel first opened, it was the largest hotel in Istanbul after the Pera Palace. It was a popular venue for Istanbul high society and belonged to the Armenian Tokatlıyan family, who had immigrated to Istanbul from the Anatolian town Tokat. Therefore, it was an appropriate setting for the lavish wedding thrown by the Agopyan family.

31 Johnston 1999, 121, 265–66. Dikran Kelekian was Henry Walters's main source for Islamic artifacts; see Simpson 2001.

32 Robert S. Pardo, introduction to "Description of Mr. Henry Walters' Collection of Oriental Royal Arms Etc.," 1903, [fols. 3r–7r]; The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, W.848. Prior to Pardo, various collectors provided information on how to obtain artifacts from the Ottoman palace. One of them was Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817); Diez 1811–15, 1:39. See also Gonnella, Weis, and Rauch 2016, 26, 28, 63.

33 The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 57.848, 57.849, and 57.850.

34 Pardo, introduction to "Description of Mr. Henry Walters' Collection of Oriental Royal Arms Etc.," 1903, [fol. 3r]; Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, W.848.

35 The correspondence is in the MMA Archives, and was partially published in Bali 2021, 279. Roxanne Goldberg gave an online talk on the prayer rug on December 4, 2021, titled "Loans, Looms, and Liquidation: Ottoman Mobilities and the Early 20th-Century Market for Islamic Art and Antiquities" in conjunction with the British Institute at Ankara/METU Workshop "Ottoman Cultural Mobilities: 19th-Century Modes of Travel, Collecting and Display." Travel records contained at ancestry.com show that the ship that transported Pardo to New York, via England, reached port on September 15, 1905, and that Pardo stayed at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The first letter sent from Pardo to the director of The Met, Caspar Purdon Clarke, on November 20, 1905, was written on the hotel's stationery; R. S. Pardo, 1905–1911, Office of the Secretary Records, MMA Archives. Pardo's loan records were published in The Met's annual reports from 1905 and 1906 under the heading "Complete List of Accessions"; see *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, no. 36 (1905): 27; and *MMAB* 1, no. 2 (January 1906): 31.

36 R. S. Pardo, 1905–1911, Office of the Secretary Records, MMA Archives. Later in the same text, Pardo mentions that the other carpet was sent to Konya by the sultan to be placed in the tomb of Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî. There is a similar carpet in the Mevlâna Museum today, dating to the sixteenth century and measuring 116 × 180 centimeters. Mevlâna Museum, Konya, Turkey, inv. 767.

37 Lynch 1904.

38 Quotes are from ibid., 334. The event officially named the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and more commonly known as the St. Louis World's Fair, took place between April 30 and December 1, 1904. From his statements in the interview (Lynch 1904), it is clear that Pardo participated in the St. Louis World's Fair on behalf of himself and The Oriental Museum.

39 One such art dealer with similar stories is Dikran Kelekian; Simpson 2001, 106.

40 No official document regarding the sale of Agopyan's items belonging to The Oriental Museum to Edward S. Beghian has survived. However, we learn of this sale from Beghian's letter to The Met. Beghian's shop, La Galerie d'Art Oriental, was located in the Abud Efendi Han in Mahmudpaşa, as was The Oriental Museum; see Bali 2021, 246, 248, 255, 300, 437. After Agopyan parted ways with Pardo, he sold his gallery to his neighbor in the same building. We also understand that there was a close friendship between the Beghian and Agopyan families; see Madame Vve G. Beghian's obituary, *Stamboul*, August 6, 1910. Tughras belonging to Sultan Süleyman I, which are today in The Met (38.149.1 and 38.149.2), were once owned by Beghian.

41 A very similar carpet is in The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (81.6). This sixteenth-century prayer rug from the Charles Tyson Yerkes collection must have been purchased by Henry Walters in 1910 through Dikran Kelekian; Simpson 2001, 103–14 (especially 110). For more on Yerkes's collection, see Farnham 1998. Another niche rug purchased from Kelekian is in the Louvre, inv. MAO 2234. For more on Fletcher's donation of his collection to The Met, see de Forest 1917, 216–18. A few months later, the Museum published an article promoting

Fletcher's collection, including a mention and photograph of the prayer rug; Fletcher Collection 1918, especially 63, 65.

42 *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 49, no. 285 (December 1926): xx.

43 For the carpets of Kumkapı, see Bensoussan 1985; and see Farrow and Harrow 1993. See also Çokay 2015, especially 89–92, and Önder 2015, especially 105–6.

44 For Kapucuyan's continued restoration activities after emigrating from Istanbul to Paris, see Farrow and Harrow 1993, 67–77.

45 For the cardboard models used by Zareh Penyamin to trace the inscriptions on the carpets, see Bensoussan 1985, 37.

46 Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, inv. 13/2042.

47 I am grateful to Janina Poskrobko, conservator in charge, and Julia Carlson, associate conservator, Department of Textile Conservation at The Met, for their assistance regarding the prayer rug's current state of conservation. The recent conservation treatment addressed the aforementioned condition issues related to surface distortion. The canvas backing was cut and released around the edges. A supportive layer of net was stitched around all four sides. Underlays of matching colors were placed between the carpet and canvas backing in critical areas to camouflage the losses. Although the overall stability of the rug was improved, many areas including edges are still fragile and cannot be treated due to the fiber's deterioration.

48 See Önder 2017, especially 25.

49 For similar carpets by Kapucuyan, see Farrow and Harrow 1993, 23–25, 28, 57. A similar rug woven by Penyamin is in the Arkas Art Bornova; see Arkas Sanat Merkezi 2015, 192–93.

50 The Met's Archives contain a letter to the director of The Met from a certain Albert Yanni, written in Istanbul on September 13, 1909. According to Yanni, most of the rug, which was already in need of restoration when Pardo acquired it, was missing. Yanni and his two sisters had repaired the rug for a year, almost reweaving it entirely. In the letter he states his intention to buy the prayer rug. Considering the complex situation regarding the ownership of the carpet at this time and Yanni's desire to purchase it, the claims in the letter should be considered with a certain degree of suspicion. In fact, the photograph of the rug before its restoration shows that, contrary to Yanni's assertions, it was not missing a large section, although some parts of it were quite worn out.

51 Zaccagnini 1909, 203. During conversations, Pardo answered Zaccagnini's questions about carpet-making. Sitting among thousands of antiquities and piled rugs, they discussed carpets woven in the palace of the Safavid ruler Shah Abbas and weaving workshops in Istanbul and Hereke, and examined the objects around them; see ibid., 203–14.

52 Ibid., 213–14.

53 Invoices from Robert Pardo to Freer, July 1908; Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, National Museum of Asian Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

54 Correspondence between Freer and Pardo can be found in the file entitled "Charles Lang Freer Papers," FSA A.01, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. The file also contains the business card of Madame A. Vallaury, who is understood to be a member of the French Levantine Vallaury family of Istanbul, although an exact identification is not yet possible.

55 See National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, F1908.190, F1908.191, F1908.192, and F.1908.193.

56 "Un Coin d'Orient à Paris," *Le Gaulois,* April 22, 1913, 1.

57 "Une curieuse métamorphose," *Le Journal*, December 26, 1914, 2.

58 "Nos échos: Réouverture," *Le Cousin Pons*, March 1, 1916, 18.

59 Maurice Lombard, "Tapis et tapisseries d'époque," *Le Temps*, January 6, 1920, [3].

60 *Excelsior* and *Le Matin*, June 27, 1926, 2 (in both newspapers).

61 For the catalogue of the auction in which Isfahan carpets belonging to Nuri Bey, another carpet collector from Istanbul, were sold with those belonging to Robert Pardo, see Costikyan sale 1925.

62 For one of the sales, see "Sales of Art, Antiques in London Has Much of American Interest," *International Herald Tribune*, July 19, 1930.

63 B. Pardo 1932.

64 The relief was sold by Benito Pardo in 1955. *Relief of Saint Lawrence Presenting the Poor*, ca. 1490. Made in Bruneck (now Italy, Trentino-Alto), South Tyrol, Austria. White or stone pine, paint, gilt, overall 26½ × 24¼ × 3⅝ in. (67.3 × 61.6 × 9.2 cm). MMA 55.27. The paintings he sold or donated to the Louvre are inv. RF. 1956.3, 1972.12, 1982.73, 1983.91, and 1986.65.

65 For details of this purchase by Richard and Robert Pardo, see Lahire 2019.

REFERENCES

Arkas Sanat Merkezi
2015 *Arkas Koleksiyonu'nda Osmanlı Halı Sanatı / Tapis Ottomans de la collection Arkas / Ottoman Carpets from the Arkas Collection, 1834–1930*. Exh. cat. Izmir: Arkas Sanat Merkezi.

Bali, Rıfat N.
2021 *Türkiye'de Antikacılar, Koleksiyonerler ve Müzayedeler (1855–1980)*. Istanbul: Libra Kitap.

Baytar, İlona, ed.
2009 *İki Dost Hükümdar: Sultan II. Abdülhamid-Kaiser II. Wilhelm: Zwei befreundete Herrscher*. Exh. cat. Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı.

Bensoussan, Pamela
1985 "The Masterweavers of Istanbul." *Hali: The International Magazine of Fine Carpets and Textiles*, no. 26, 34–41.

Cohen, Julia Phillips
2014 *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.
2016 "The East as a Career: Far Away Moses & Company in the Marketplace of Empires." *Jewish Social Studies*, n.s., 21, no. 2 (Winter): 35–77.

Çokay, Önder
2015 "XX. Yüzyılda Kumkapı Halıları / Les tapis de Kumkapı au XX^{e} siècle / Kumkapı Carpets in the XXth Century." In Arkas Sanat Merkezi 2015, 89–97.

Costikyan sale
1925 *Antique Rugs and Carpets Collected by S. Kent Costikyan and Sold by His Order*. Sale, American Art Association, New York, December 8.

Diez, Heinrich Friedrich von
1811–15 *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung; aus Handschriften und eigenen*

Erfahrungen gesammelt. 2 vols. Berlin: In Commission der Nicolaischen Buchhandlung.

Eldem, Edhem

2004 *İftihar ve İmtiyaz: Osmanlı Nişan ve Madalyaları Tarihi*. Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi.

Farnham, Thomas J.

1998 "The Yerkes Collection." *Hali: The International Magazine of Antique Carpet and Textile Art*, no. 101 (November): 74–87.

Farrow, George, with Leonard Harrow

1993 *Hagop Kapoudjian: The First and Greatest Master of the Kum Kapi School; from Examples in the George Farrow Collection of Silk Rugs and Carpets*. London: Scorpion.

Fletcher Collection

1918 "The Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection." *MMAB* 13, no. 3 (March): 57–65.

de Forest, Robert W.

1917 "The Notable Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher: His Solution of the Museum Problem of Conditional Gifts." *MMAB* 12, no. 11 (November): 216–18.

Franses, Michael

1999 "Some Wool Pile Persian-Design Niche Rugs." *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies (OCTS)* 5, no. 2, 36–136.

Franses, Michael, and Ian Bennett

1988 "The Topkapi Prayer Rugs." *Hali: The International Magazine of Fine Carpets and Textiles*, no. 39 (May–June): 20–27.

Gonnella, Julia, Friederike Weis, and Christoph Rauch, eds.

2016 *The Diez Albums: Contexts and Contents*. Islamic Manuscripts and Books 11. Boston: Brill.

Grange, Daniel J.

1994 *L'Italie et la Méditerranée (1896–1911): Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*. 2 vols. Rome: Ecole française de Rome.

Jenkins-Madina, Marilyn

2000 "Collecting the 'Orient' at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America." *Ars Orientalis* (Freer Gallery of Art) 30:69–89.

Johnston, William R.

1999 *William and Henry Walters: The Reticent Collectors*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Walters Art Gallery.

Lahire, Bernard

2019 *This Is Not Just a Painting: An Inquiry into Art, Domination, Magic and the Sacred*. Translated from the French by Helen Morrison. Cambridge: Polity Books.

Lynch, G[eorge]

1904 "The Romance of a Rug." *Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly* 27 (January–June): 334–35.

Önder, Altuğ

2015 "Feshane, Hereke ve Kumkapı Halılarının Tarihçesi / Aperçu historique des tapis de Feshane, Hereke, et Kumkapı / The History of Feshane, Hereke and Kumkapı Carpets." In Arkas Sanat Merkezi 2015, 99–113.

2017 "Kumkapı Halılarının Tarihçesi / The History of Kumkapı Carpets." In *Arkas Koleksiyonu'nda Kumkapı Halıları / Kumkapı Rugs from the Arkas Collection*, 24–29. Exh. cat., Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum). Izmir: Arkas Holding.

Pannuti, Alessandro E.

2008 *Les Italiens d'Istanbul au XX^e^ siècle: Entre préservation identitaire et effacement*. Istanbul: Isis.

Pardo, Benito

1932 "Les tapis de prière persans." *L'Art vivant*, no. 157 (February): 88–89.

Pardo, Robert-Sadia

1897 "Mamulât-i Sınâiyye-i Osmâniye ve İhrâcâtı." *İkdam*, August 5, 3.

Simpson, Marianna Shreve

2001 "A Gallant Era: Henry Walters, Islamic Art, and the Kelekian Connection." *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* (Baltimore) 59:103–14.

Trumbull, Charles Gallaudet

1905 *A Pilgrimage to Jerusalem: The Story of the Cruise to the World's Fourth Sunday-School Convention, Held in the City of Jerusalem, and of a Ride through Palestine*. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company.

Zaccagnini, Giuseppe

1909 *La Vita a Costantinopoli*. Turin: Bocca.

Wood and Stone: Bernard Palissy's Environmental Legacy

KELLY PRESUTTI

Bernard Palissy, the French Renaissance potter, is famous for two feats: casting specimens from life and burning his own furniture in desperate pursuit of his art. Both aspects of his legacy are on view in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. While few intact artworks are attributed to Palissy, his style is evident in the work of his imitators, as with a late sixteenth-century platter (fig. 1).[1] Abounding with seeming life, including a snake, minnows, crayfish, frog, ferns, seashells, stones, oak leaves, and acorns, the object condenses an ecosystem of animal, plant, and mineral specimens into the span of a relatively small oval. The artist reproduced the scale and texture of diverse elements in vibrant colored enamels; Palissy claimed the glassy coloring he used on his ceramics was so convincing, "so close to nature," that "other lizards and snakes

Metropolitan Museum Journal, volume 59, 2024. Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with the University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1086/734020. © 2024 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

fig. 1 Follower of Bernard Palissy (French, 1510–1590). Platter, last quarter of the 16th century. Lead-glazed earthenware, 20½ × 15⅝ × 2 13/16 in. (52.1 × 39.7 × 7.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.225.52)

would often come to admire them."[2] Set against a blue ground with mottled brown banks, the platter evokes the wonder of peering down into a small pond. Palissy called this style of work "rustic ceramics," a phrase that invokes the apparent lack of artifice of his creatures rendered in clay.

Largely forgotten for several centuries, Palissy's work experienced a revival in nineteenth-century France. His method, and his own "rustic" qualities—a term he used to describe himself, referring both to his closeness to nature and to his distance from the erudite languages of Greek and Latin—appealed to nineteenth-century interests in nature as much as art.[3] For the potter, there would have been no distinction between his artistic production and his study of the natural world. Palissy is a model for understanding the interrelationship between artisanal practices and scientific inquiry in the sixteenth century.[4] Palissy wrote several natural history treatises that were republished to great acclaim in the nineteenth century.[5] His rustic ceramics provided physical catalogues of flora and fauna, shells and fossils, and became a resource for nineteenth-century naturalists trying to make sense of the world.

While the rustic ceramics testify to the diversity and abundance of nature, Palissy was equally attentive to the limitations of natural resources. In this, too, he held particular relevance for a nineteenth-century audience coming to terms with resource management in the wake of the French Revolution. We see both Palissy and his later admirers contending with resource scarcity in an object dedicated to the second aspect of his fame: a porcelain plaque showing Palissy burning his own furniture in order to fire his kiln (fig. 2).

Produced in 1846 at the Sèvres porcelain manufactory, the plaque celebrates Palissy as an icon of French ceramic arts. Its central panel shows the noble potter

L'ESPRIT DE PARVENIR POVRETE EMPESCHE LES BONS

fig. 2 Sèvres manufactory (French, 1740–present). Plaque depicting Bernard Palissy, 1846. Hard-paste porcelain decorated in polychrome enamels; gilt-bronze, polychrome enamel, biscuit porcelain frame. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Isaacson-Draper Foundation Gift, 2007 (2007.221)

holding an enameled cup in his hand as he gazes into the flames of a makeshift kiln. Lustrous wares sit within; more rest atop the mantel. Yet in contrast to these luxurious products, the circumstances are born of desperation. Palissy's wood supply had run short, and scattered bits of broken furniture reveal the unorthodox source of his fuel.[6] Within the cramped cottage, a crowd of creditors, complaining townspeople, and Palissy's angry wife harangue the indifferent inventor.[7] With eyes only for his art, Palissy seems to exemplify the theme of the artist obsessed with his pursuits. The story was well known and widely disseminated in the nineteenth century. Its appeal has been explained as a function of Romantic-era mythologizing, a way of transforming the nearly forgotten potter into a national hero.[8] As a story about ceramics told through a ceramic object, the plaque in The Met doubly engages with the material questions of the anecdote. Read as a comment on the costs of artistic production, the plaque also speaks to systemic issues concerning class, industry, and, as this article explores, environment.

Taking an ecocritical approach to the Palissy plaque grants us greater insight into the ways in which the object participated in nineteenth-century debates about human-environmental relationships. Alan Braddock and Karl Kusserow have argued that any artwork can be read ecocritically, a mode of analysis that "explores the imbrication of all beings, artifacts, ideas, and matter—including humans and their creative works—within a dynamic mesh of agents, materials, and histories."[9] Tracing the intertwined histories of two specific materials—wood and stone—in the Sèvres plaque provides a point of departure for an environmental reading of Palissy's legacy. In the nineteenth century, an emergent awareness of the need for future-oriented forest stewardship coincided with a desire to excavate and preserve evidence of past worlds in the form of stone fossils. Environmental art historians have emphasized the nineteenth century as a moment of both irrevocable anthropogenic transformation of the environment and dawning ecological awareness.[10] The Palissy plaque wrestles in many ways with that contradiction, counterbalancing an apparent frenzy of consumption with gestures toward preservation. Attending to the plaque's materiality and its material references reveals how Palissy's legacy was recruited to bolster nineteenth-century approaches to resource management.

PALISSY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Born about 1510 in Saint-Avit, Palissy had an itinerant career that included painting portraits on glass and working as a land surveyor. He was untrained in any art or science, and as a Protestant during the years of religious persecution he lived at the mercy of his benefactors; he would eventually die imprisoned in the Bastille for his religion. He spent much of his life in Saintes and, once he became known as a ceramicist, was often referred to as the "potter from Saintes." According to the legend—and much of Palissy's story is legend, with very few facts about his life verified—Palissy turned his focus to ceramics after seeing a gleaming Italian maiolica ewer.[11] The impression that ewer made on him prompted him to try to re-create it, and he began experimenting with enamels, a pursuit that required chemical and technical innovation. Enamels are formed from vitreous substances laced with metallic oxides, silicates, or pigments. Once melted and fused onto a hard surface, they provide rich, vibrant, and enduring color. Working with enamel requires high and steady heat and precise ratios of pigments and substrates. Palissy found that even if he had the right chemistry, the results might be bungled in the kiln, leading him to build his own kiln so he could control the firing himself. Palissy's goal was the production of white enamel, which he understood as the basis for all other colors.[12] Once achieved, he could produce works of unprecedented vivacity, securing his legacy as an innovator in French ceramics.

Between the 1840s and the turn of the twentieth century, a number of imitators sought to reproduce the legendary vigor of Palissy's work. "Palissy ware" describes a style of ceramics that borrowed the Renaissance potter's affinity for the direct transcription of nature, with some even continuing his practice of casting specimens from life. It was not only Palissy's ceramics that attracted nineteenth-century interest; Palissy's life, or what was known of it, was as colorful as his art. His story offered a model of persistence and overcoming adversity, especially in his dedication to his Protestant faith. For some thinkers, Palissy's entire career was an elaboration of his Protestantism.[13] The furniture-burning story, in particular, resonates with an iconography of religious fire. As Neil Kamil has described, for Palissy "fired clay was an alchemical material that had already achieved the highest spiritual status."[14] Palissy's own writing encouraged such metaphysical readings. As he claimed, "all those who seek to generate metals by fire wish to build with the destroyer."[15] Intensely aware of the dialectics of creation and destruction, Palissy saw materials not as inert matter but as living elements within an ever-shifting field. His religious views led him to theorize a model of environmental entanglement that we might today call "ecological."

fig. 3 Alexandre Evariste Fragonard (French, 1780–1850). *Bernard Palissy Burning the Tables and Flooring of His House*, 1826. Oil on canvas. Cité de la céramique, Sèvres (inv. Fpl 1829 no. 5)

While fire's significance as a religious symbol resonated with nineteenth-century Protestants, the story was more than a metaphor for ceramicists who lived in daily proximity to hot kilns and the wood it took to fuel them. It was, accordingly, an artisan at Sèvres who made one of the first illustrations of the tale in the nineteenth century. Alexandre Evariste Fragonard's painting of 1826 puts Palissy at the head of a bustling workshop (fig. 3). Palissy gestures toward the fire as assistants frantically take saws and hatchets to all the available wood. The scene is aglow with the light of the burning kiln, the smoke of which fills the atelier. Though we see none of the potter's wares, his Renaissance style is alluded to in the image's frame. The scene is set within an elaborate border of garlands, cameos, sculptural niches, and putti. Running beneath the image is an inscription taken from Palissy's *Discours admirables* (1580) describing the woodburning episode. It reads, "Je fus contraint brusler les tables et plancher de la Maison" (I was forced to burn the tables and flooring of the house).[16] Fragonard places the ornamental frolicking putti into dynamic relation with the contorted, laboring bodies and the elemental properties of fire to underscore the material relations between the conditions of production and the work of art.

The plaque in The Met is a copy of another painting, one that returns the focus more fully to the potter himself while still keeping the material dimensions of the narrative in full view. Based on an oil painting by Charles Alexandre Debacq from the Salon of 1837, the 1846 plaque was the second time the painting was reproduced at Sèvres; Tamara Préaud has also identified its presence on a platter as part of the "Déjeuner des potiers célèbres modernes," a coffee service featuring celebrated ceramicists, from 1840.[17] Debacq's composition plays up the myth of the singular Romantic

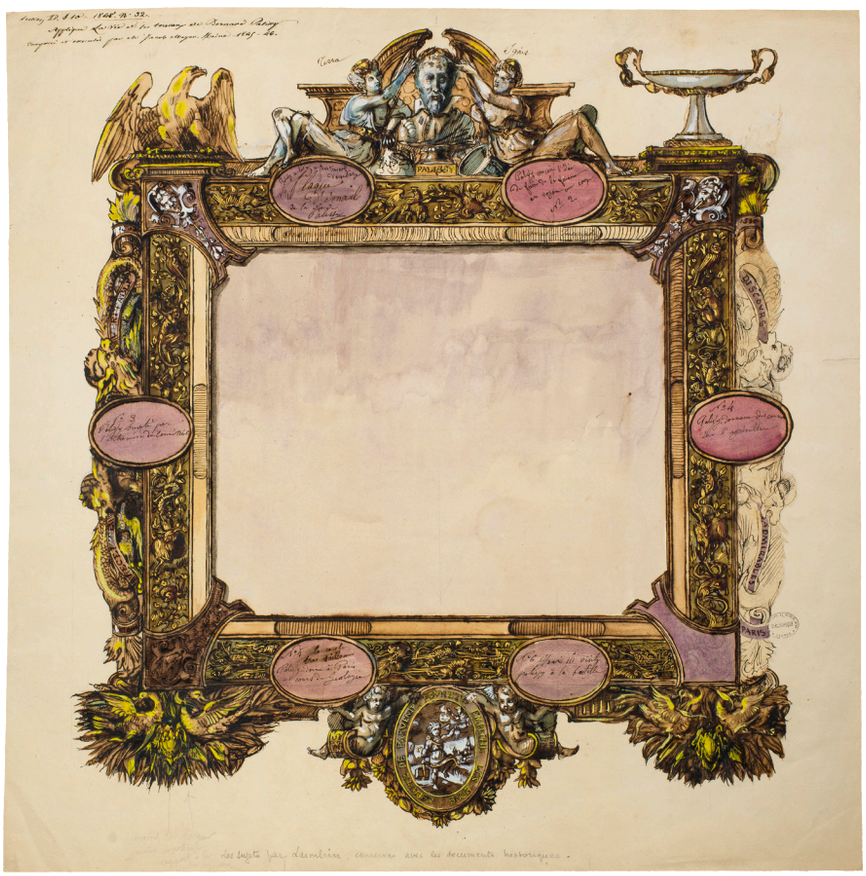

fig. 4 Jacob Meyer-Heine (French, 1805–1879). Design for a frame featuring the life and work of Bernard Palissy, 1845–46. Watercolor drawing, 20¼ × 19⅞ in. (51.4 cm × 50.3 cm). Archives de la Manufacture Nationale, Sèvres (inv. D 10-1848, no. 32)

hero, removing the assistants and arranging Palissy in a contemplative rather than active posture. It adds, as mentioned above, townspeople, wife, and children, emphasizing the social dynamics at play. Debacq also features some of the potter's Renaissance wares, and this aspect was considerably heightened in the Sèvres plaque by setting the painting within a highly elaborate gilt-bronze, enamel, and porcelain bisque frame (fig. 4).

The frame provides a lavish counterpart to the poverty implied by the plaque's subject matter, allowing Palissy's subsequent success and future fame to inflect back upon his moment of desperation. It also casts Palissy in a distinctly nineteenth-century guise, celebrating him as the progenitor of a French Renaissance style in vogue at the time of the plaque's production. As Jeffrey Munger points out, the frame's form is emblematic of work in the Renaissance style that was ongoing at Sèvres in the 1830s and 1840s.[18] The green and gold border painted with grotesques and the gilded bronze serpentine accents borrow from sixteenth-century ornamental vocabulary. The two cups that cap the upper corners are direct transcriptions of Renaissance objects. The overall effect, Munger suggests, is akin to the ornate qualities of Renaissance jewelry.[19] The frame further replicates Renaissance techniques in the grisaille ovals featuring episodes from Palissy's life story. We see the potter encountering the ewer that sparked his interest, alongside other facets of his diverse endeavors: he advises a shepherd on agricultural technique, he draws a surveying map, and he gives lectures on natural history in Paris. Completed by Jacob Meyer-Heine in the manufactory's newly founded enamel workshop, the technique revived a centuries-old process of enameling on metal developed and perfected in Limoges, not far from where Palissy lived and worked. The frame's style is a clear celebration of High Renaissance luxury at a time when Sèvres was invested in Renaissance-style products. The plaque's materials, however, tell another story. Both the wood burned to produce it and the hardened earth out of which it is made can be directly tied to Palissy's inquiries as a natural historian.

The plaque was produced under the purview of Alexandre Brongniart, a naturalist who took over the manufactory in 1800. Palissy and Brongniart shared dual identities as scientists and artists; an 1844 edition of Palissy's *Oeuvres complètes* made the links between the two men explicit, as it declared them to be "two names as dear to science as to the fine arts."[20] Brongniart brought a scientific approach to Sevres's own revival in the wake of the Revolution. His contributions included technical innovation, the acquisition of books for the manufactory's library and objects for its museum, and the publication of an extensive treatise, *Traité des arts céramiques*, in 1844. In the treatise, Brongniart elucidated the history of the medium and ongoing technical experiments at Sèvres. Brongniart gave significant space within this text to Palissy. The potter is one of three figures who appears in a medallion on the frontispiece to the treatise's illustrations, sitting alongside Johann Friedrich Böttger, credited with being the first European to discover the secret of porcelain production, and Josiah Wedgwood, of the eponymous manufactory (fig. 5).

Why was Brongniart so drawn to Palissy? Brongniart was a classicist, often working with a strict decorative framework that could hardly be called "rustic." Brongniart, further, hardly received any technical expertise from the Renaissance master: Palissy coyly refused to divulge any of his secrets, writing that "many charming inventions are contaminated and despised because they are too common."[21] Palissy's treatises, Brongniart admits openly, teach us nothing of ceramics.[22] Palissy's legacy for Brongniart and Sèvres is not, or is not only, about his art. Rather, he offered an exemplum of resource management and an argument

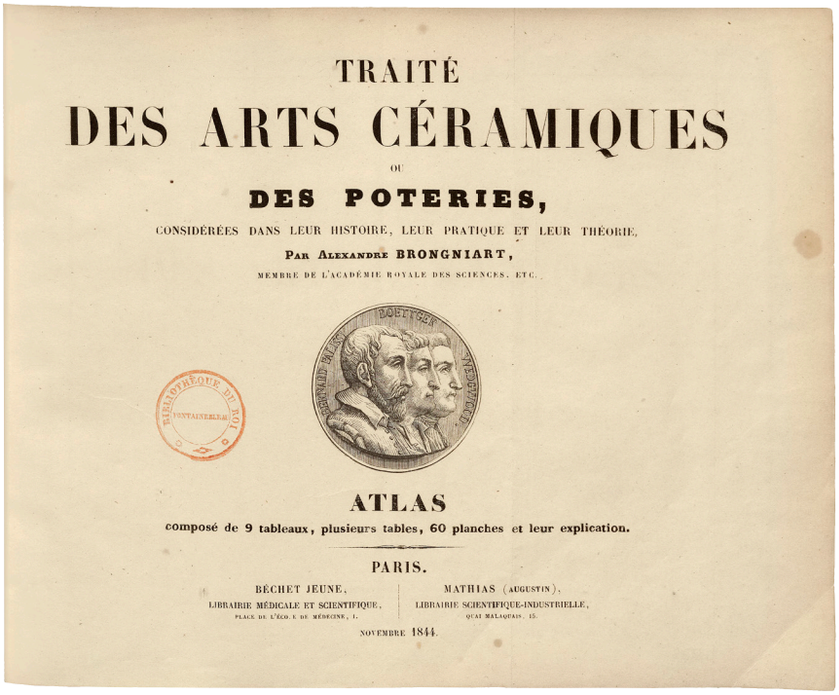
TRAITÉ
DES ARTS CÉRAMIQUES
OU
DES POTERIES,
CONSIDÉRÉES DANS LEUR HISTOIRE, LEUR PRATIQUE ET LEUR THÉORIE,
PAR ALEXANDRE BRONGNIART,
MEMBRE DE L'ACADÉMIE ROYALE DES SCIENCES, ETC.
ATLAS
composé de 9 tableaux, plusieurs tables, 60 planches et leur explication.
PARIS.
BÉCHET JEUNE, LIBRAIRIE MÉDICALE ET SCIENTIFIQUE, PLACE DE L'ÉCOLE DE MÉDECINE, 1.
MATHIAS (AUGUSTIN), LIBRAIRIE SCIENTIFIQUE-INDUSTRIELLE, QUAI MALAQUAIS, 15.
NOVEMBRE 1844.

fig. 5 Frontispiece to Alexandre Brongniart, *Traité des arts céramiques; ou, Des poteries considérées dans leur histoire, leur pratique et leur théorie* (Paris, 1844), vol. 3, *Atlas*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

for the value of material inquiry that paralleled Brongniart's own work and nineteenth-century concerns more broadly.

WOOD

Wood is at the center of Palissy's story, and, despite its scarcity, it is everywhere in the Sèvres plaque. The panel is filled with the warm tones of wooden accents: the array of disassembled furniture to the left of the kiln, the barrel on which the young boy opening the overdoor sits, the handle of the axe lying across the foreground, a slab poking out beneath Palissy's wife's dress, and the prominent slanted beam supporting the cottage's low ceiling all emphasize the primacy of this material. But it is perhaps most significant in what we cannot see: the wood consumed in the plaque's production. The visible and invisible presence of wood in the plaque is a reminder that an artwork's materiality can extend well beyond its listed medium.

Wood is essential to ceramics production, and access to wood was not a problem unique to Palissy, even if he provided the most memorable solution. Porcelain manufactories were usually located near forests to supply their kilns; Sèvres was originally established next to the woods of Vincennes. Although it was relocated to better capture the attention of aristocrats on their way to Versailles, the manufactory still required large quantities of timber. Even in the nineteenth century, as the availability of coal offered alternative heat sources, Brongniart insisted on wood, writing, "It is possible and even probable that porcelain could be fired in this way [using coal], but it seems to me very likely that despite any precautions taken the porcelain would always be less white than that which we fire with wood."[23] In his consideration of how the materials of production impacted the final appearance of a work of art, Brongniart reveals timber to be as necessary to porcelain as the kaolin that composed its body.

In the case of the Sèvres plaque, wood had another role to play. It secured the object's flat planar shape, providing a solution to porcelain's tendency to buckle and warp when stretched over too great an expanse. Firing large slabs of porcelain without warping was one of Brongniart's signature technological achievements. Starting in 1814, he developed an elaborate mechanism for producing large cast plates (*grandes plaques coulées*).[24] Wet clay was pressed between a plaster matrix buttressed with a gridded wooden frame, and the entire apparatus was continually rotated to ensure a flat and even surface (fig. 6). The resulting slabs were dried, fired, and given a transparent glaze before being turned over to the painter's brush. Wood is the invisible armature that gave the Palissy plaque its form.

Wood, however, was a matter of serious concern in nineteenth-century France. The 1789 Revolution had prompted a crisis of management, as what had formerly been the king's domain became the property of the people. When the revolutionary transfer of aristocratic landholdings to national good rendered forests property of the nation, there was little to stop the nation's citizens from felling trees and transforming woods into pasture.[25] Historian Richard Cobb colorfully describes the resulting confusion: "Much of this forest land had been the hunting preserve of the Princes of the Blood; and these *apanages* [lands] were duly confiscated and became, nominally at least, the property of the Nation. The inhabitants of woodland areas were liable to interpret this change quite literally. Were *they* not the nation?"[26] In the aftermath of the Revolution, a "dark legend" telling of unparalleled destruction spread, casting peasants as anarchists ransacking the woods to fuel their fires.[27] Distress over the state of the woods permeated popular consciousness as peasant attacks became the stuff of lore and forests the subjects of national attention. The prominent nineteenth-century historian Jules Michelet declared peasants' irreverence for the forest to be such that they would cut two pines to make a pair of sandals.[28] In response to rampant exploitation and ongoing deforestation, the state instituted severe forest regulations, generating significant conflict within French forests.

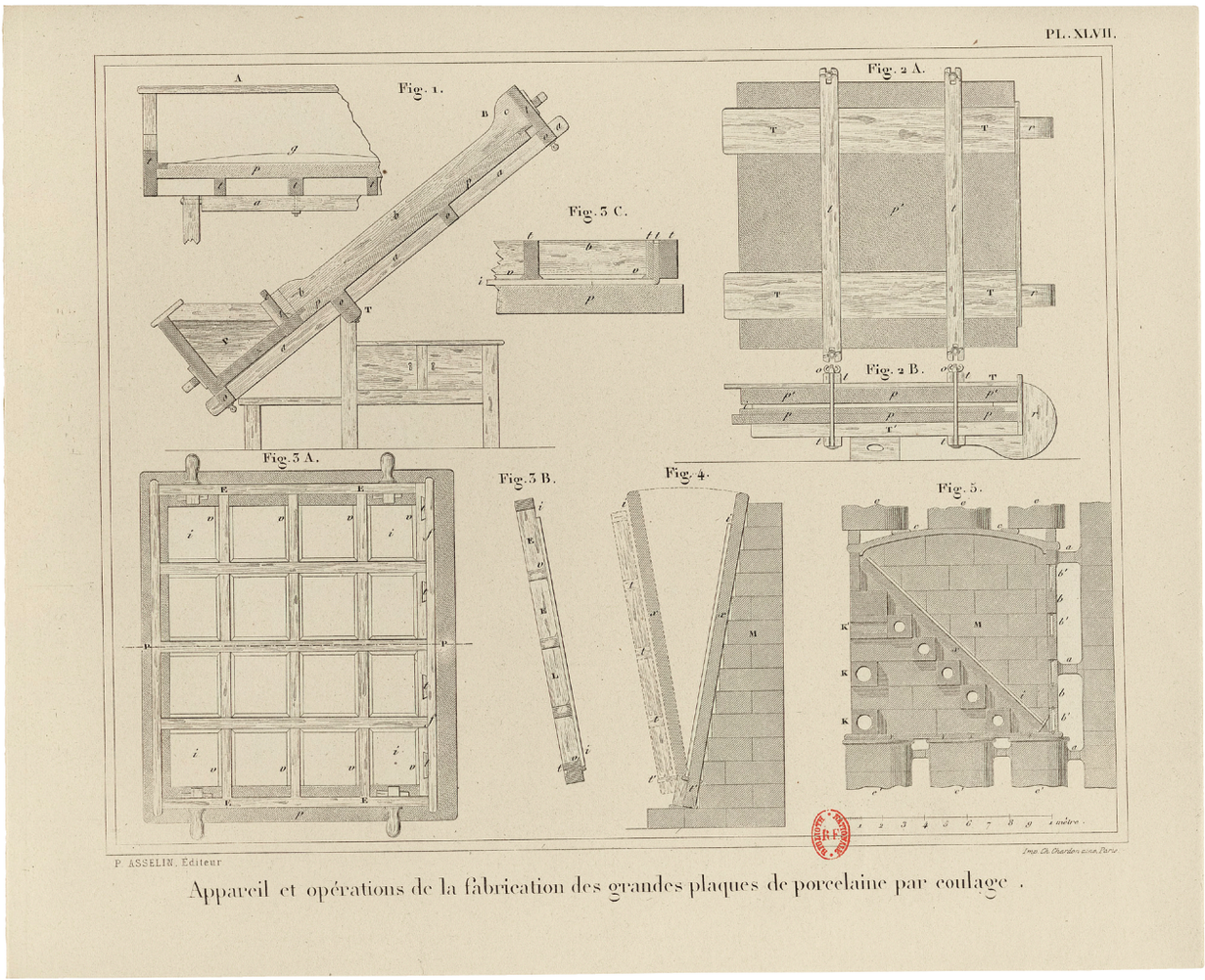

fig. 6 Illustration showing the fabrication of porcelain plaques from Brongniart 1844, vol. 3, *Atlas*, plate XLVII. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Palissy was not only anecdotally linked to the consumption of wood. Nineteenth-century foresters directly cited the ceramicist as they worked to curb deforestation and develop long-term management solutions. Palissy's name began appearing in forestry treatises in the 1840s.[29] The potter was taken as prescient in the matter of future-oriented land management. In his work as a surveyor, Palissy had observed tracts of indiscriminately cleared ground. He lamented the disregard with which many treated their forests. In keeping with his Protestant faith, he encouraged the responsible use of what he saw as God-given resources.[30] Palissy noted:

> There is no treasure in the world so precious nor which should be held in such great esteem, as the little branches of trees and plants. . . . I value them more highly than mines of gold and silver. And when I think of the value of the very smallest branches or thorns, I am astonished at the great ignorance of men who seem these days to only study how to break, cut, and destroy the beautiful forests that their predecessors had so preciously saved. I would not find it wrong if they cut the forests down, provided they afterwards replanted some of it: but they do not think at all of times to come, not realizing the great harm they are doing to their children in the future.[31]

To communicate the consequences of deforestation, Palissy began to list all of the domains of agriculture and industry for which wood was necessary. He found there were too many to count, concluding simply that without wood, "all the arts must cease."[32] In addition to a ceramics practice that was engaged with the reproduction of the natural world, Palissy modeled a holistic vision in which art existed in an extended and ongoing dialogue with its environments. His appeal for the art of modern forestry reached across the Atlantic, where in the late nineteenth century the forester James Wallace Pinchot affixed the potter's portrait to the facade of Forest Hall, site of Yale University's summer Forestry School.[33] James was the father of Gifford Pinchot, who would become the first head of the United States Forest Service; Gifford

is often referred to as "the first conservationist" for his contributions to the conservation movement in the United States.[34] The Pinchots revered Palissy as an early exemplar of judicious resource management.

Palissy's renewed fame gave nineteenth-century foresters leverage in their campaigns for planned replanting, offering a model of responsible stewardship for the future. What generally went unmentioned was the reason such replanting was needed. New theories of scientific silviculture privileged clear-cutting designated areas within gridded plots rather than selectively removing mature trees within a diversely aged and planted woods.[35] Timber production required an industrially managed forest, and with the increased rate of exploitation there was no longer time to allow for natural regrowth.

As forests were transformed into industrial timber factories, their historical and cultural significance was memorialized on objects including a porcelain service produced at Sèvres. Brongniart recognized the close material alliance of porcelain with wood and, by extension, with forestry. He celebrated the world's great forests in a dinner service produced beginning in 1834. The "Service forestier" was one of Brongniart's encyclopedic services (others included the "Service des départements").[36] These extensively researched services catalogued specific examples of a given entity within the coherent framework of a set. For the "Service forestier," more than 130 plates featuring forests from Ceylon to the Caribbean were completed over a period of six years, along with additional compote pieces.[37] Central hand-painted landscapes highlighted famed forests and the human activities that occurred therein, from harvesting to hunting to scenes of leisure. For Brongniart forests were also sites of scientific inquiry, and the Fontainebleau plate shows a group of botanists and entomologists huddled over specimens.[38] This central view, as on all the plates, is framed by an elaborate gilded border composed of intertwined leaves of oak and hornbeam. Abstractions of a forest's richness, the ornamental borders brought the individual plates into dialogue with the set as a whole while also offering implicit links to French forest management practices that were redefining forests as bounded and manageable entities. The gleaming order of the "Service forestier," however, stood in stark contrast to ongoing conflict in the French woods between peasants and the state, individual users and large-scale forestry.[39] In Fontainebleau in particular, artists were famously campaigning to save some of the oaks featured on the forest's painted plate as the state privileged planting fast-growing, easily harvested pines. Only as trees were being consumed at unprecedented rates did their preservation become an issue. Against a backdrop of forest crisis, the "Service forestier" may well be a compensatory gesture, using art to fill in a vibrant vision of thriving woods even as the reality grew dimmer.

Produced less than a decade after the "Service forestier," the Palissy plaque may also respond to a perception of wood scarcity in nineteenth-century France as much as in a sixteenth-century potter's workshop. The lavishness of the plaque's support and the figurative abundance of its frame are proof of Sèvres's access to resources, to the material the potter himself lacked. This assertion of abundance is underscored by the presence of white bisque figurines on the frame. These figurines—allegories of fire and earth crowning an ascendant Palissy along the top of the frame and two small putti at its base—stand apart from the vivid colors of the rest of the object. Left unglazed, their bright white surfaces, a whiteness Brongniart claimed was only possible with wood fire, is linked directly to the consumption of timber. Palissy had remarked that he found sticks and branches worth more than silver and gold; yet sticks and branches were burned to make a gilded plaque in his name. The story and substance of the plaque together underscore the ever-present material exchanges that occur in the work of art, and allude to those materials' ties to a wider world beyond the frame.

STONE

As much as the Sèvres plaque addresses resource consumption, it also contends with the material capacity of stone to fix things in time.[40] The plaque's substrate of hardened earth and its surface of mineral color reflect a desire to restore a nearly lost past in ways that resonated with nineteenth-century concerns for both the history of art and the deep history of geological time. As Iris Moon has shown, Brongniart was in search of things that lasted, trying to find a firm footing after the Revolutionary upheavals.[41] Given the continual political transformations in nineteenth-century France, a sense of continuity was difficult to find. Palissy, whose legacy survived though much of his production did not, offered a model of improbable endurance.

The Palissy plaque was itself designed to endure. Transferring Debacq's oil painting onto a porcelain panel coincided with an ongoing campaign to copy oil paintings onto porcelain as a means of securing great works of art against the inevitable decay of time. Oils may crack and fade but hardened enamels will retain their glassy vibrancy in perpetuity. Daniel Harkett has

shown that the appeal of porcelain copies was apparent in the high prices people were willing to pay for enameled reproductions of oil paintings.[42] Paintings from the Renaissance were particularly subject to degradation, and contemporary commentators noted that the true glory of a Renaissance artist like Raphael would be realized only in his porcelain reproduction. The application of polychrome enamels to the fine white surface of porcelain allowed for an exceptionally bright, precise image. Enamel artists took liberties to restore the tones of a painting to a presumed original state. In a copy of a landscape by Salomon van Ruysdael, the artist Jean-Baptiste Gabriel Langlacé "re-established the azure of the sky as it should have been, before the varnish had yellowed it."[43] A porcelain copy would not only stop time, but also could reverse it, taking the viewer back several hundred years to an illusory, original experience of the work of art.

Thinking across a greater temporal divide, the Sèvres plaque also connects to ongoing efforts to grapple with species extinction among French geologists, including Brongniart himself. Though much of the plaque is intended to celebrate the High Renaissance style of luxury goods, including the objects Palissy is shown firing, there are two small nods to some of Palissy's more "rustic" inquiries: a tiny gilded frog peeks out in the lower left finial of the frame, and a salamander on the lower right. These lifelike creatures refer to the preservative capacities of Palissy's ceramic casts, where we might also find traces of things long dead—Palissy's rustic ceramics often included fossils, which the potter was one of the first to understand as the vestiges of creatures that had once but no longer existed.[44]

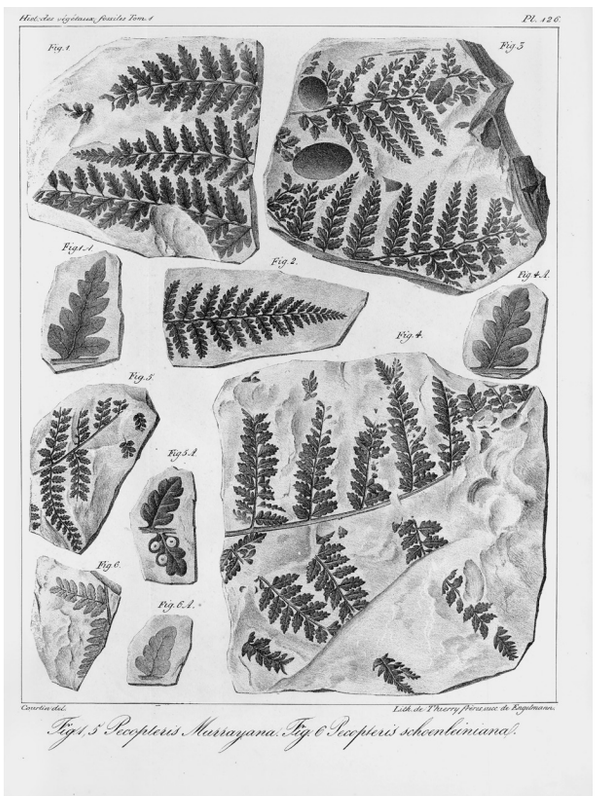

fig. 7 Plate 126 from Adolphe Brongniart, *Histoire des végétaux fossiles* (Paris: Chez G. Dufour), 1828. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Palissy's practice of transforming life into stone gave him material purchase on understanding the production of fossils as a form of preservation. He described the fossils he found as "figured stones" that were made through a casting process not unlike his own.[45] He repeatedly referred to these figured stones in his natural history treatises and invited readers to his cabinet to see his collections; it was his research into fossils that first brought him back into the public eye in the eighteenth century. René-Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur cited Palissy in his 1720 account of fossilized shell formations, introducing the ceramicist as a point of reference in the subsequent history of paleontology.[46] Palissy's relevance for fossil study persisted into the nineteenth century: the only treatises in which Palissy was mentioned more than Brongniart's, according to the historian Leonard Amico, were those of Brongniart's close friend and collaborator, the geologist and paleontologist Georges Cuvier.[47] Brongniart's son Adolphe would build up an entire discipline from "figured stones," the field of paleobotany.

Fossils, like Palissy's ceramics, consume living matter to preserve material histories for the future. In his *Histoire des végétaux fossiles*, Adolphe Brongniart worked extensively with trace fossils that he reproduced in illustration (fig. 7). Sensitive and detailed records that capture the diversity and animacy of fern fronds, the plates bear a striking resemblance to Palissy's own plant molds (fig. 8), visually aligning the material work of ceramics with the geological processes of stone. The elder Brongniart articulated these links between ceramics and fossils in the preface to his 1844 treatise. He wrote that ceramics and fossils were the only two materials that could traverse millennia to tell us of humanity and the earth's most ancient history. "Aside from these two materials, everything is perishable or silent."[48] Ceramics might testify to the earliest traces of humanity, and fossils to the earliest traces of life.

While stone fossils offered a promise of continuity and endurance, they appeared in increasing numbers due to tremendous disruption of the earth's surface—disruption in which Brongniart was an active participant. Brongniart had worked as a mineralogist before coming to Sèvres. While serving as head engineer for the Corps des Mines, Brongniart observed some

fig. 8 Bernard Palissy and studio. Mold for a bouquet of rosemary, sage, and lavender tied with a wire, 1556–90. Unglazed ceramic, 4⅞ × 2⅞ in. (12.3 × 7.2 cm). Musée National de la Renaissance, Château d'Ecouen (inv. EP 1595)

"curiosities" among the "debris of ancient worlds"—fossils from a deep past.[49] Paleontological inquiries were greatly facilitated by the rapidly expanding activities of extractive coal mining. Coal is a fossil fuel, and coal mines were where nineteenth-century scientists like Brongniart were obtaining their fossils. A dawning awareness that entire species had disappeared came at the (unseen) cost of future extinction. Consumption and preservation were again brought into direct relation as Cuvier, the Brongniarts, and others working with unearthed materials invested in the capacity of fossils to resurrect a lost world. The preservation of a static image of the past required, as it had for the Palissy plaque, something else to burn.

CONCLUSION

The Palissy plaque engages two distinct approaches to the natural world. One, signified by wood, concerns the constantly churning consumption of resources, more or less selectively, with little regard for the future. The other, rendered in stone, emphasizes the fixed preservation of material data. These seeming contradictions may be reconciled, however, in another account of material transformation pictured in the plaque's marginalia. Palissy's lowly origins register in the motto that rings an oval medallion at the plaque's base: "poverty prevents the advancement of clever men." At the medallion's center is an allegorical image of a figure whose winged potential is restrained by the heavy stone of poverty. Although the phrase is often attributed to Palissy, the emblem, which figured in the frontispiece of his 1563 publication *Recepte véritable*, actually came from his publisher, Barthélemy Berton (fig. 9).[50] While in some versions the stone that weighs down the young genius resembles a rough rock, in the Sèvres plaque it appears as a perfectly hewn block. It echoes a cache found at the top of the frame, under the extended arm of the biscuit allegory of Ignis (Fire). Those blocks refer to the raw material of clay, the source of Palissy's—and Sèvres's—art. They are, on the one hand, another testament to the abundant resources available at Sèvres in the nineteenth century. But they also speak to how those resources were consumed, trading futures to recover lost pasts. Palissy altered the course of his life by changing stone into something else, and the Sèvres plaque, for all Brongniart's gestures toward stability, existed within a social, political, and environmental landscape of continuous change. The plaque introduces a cyclical framework in which the stone of poverty may give rise to the raw materials of art, a forgotten potter may inspire innovation, and the fossils of extinct species may generate new knowledge. Keeping a balance between the competing demands of consumption and preservation, the plaque seems to suggest, will best sustain natural resources. Without which, as Palissy saw already nearly five hundred years ago, there would be no art.

Those who took up Palissy's charge, however, did not always maintain this equilibrium. One of the most

fig. 9 Barthélemy Berton (French, d. 1573). Printer's mark. Reproduced in Barbier 1864, 278

fig. 10 Charles-Jean Avisseau (French, 1796–1861). Grotto with owl, snake, and lizard, ca. 1850–55. Glazed earthenware, 20⅝ × 15⅜ × 10¾ in. (52.4 × 39.1 × 27.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Wallis Katz, in memory of Marshall Katz, and in celebration of the Museum's 150th anniversary, 2020 (2020.86.16)

ardent nineteenth-century imitators of Palissy, Charles-Jean Avisseau, presented a deliberately off-kilter version of the natural world in his glazed-earthenware work showing a grotto with an owl, snake, lizard, snails, frogs, and a number of other creatures (fig. 10). Avisseau had spent years trying to learn Palissy's secrets, managing finally to work out a way to cast and glaze creatures as lifelike as those of the Renaissance master. An article in *L'Illustration* celebrated his triumph and declared him "Un nouveau Bernard Palissy."[51] This "new" Palissy, however, was operating within a novel industrial capitalist landscape, and his vision is accordingly driven by competition more than conservation. Avisseau's grotto centers on a confrontation between an owl and a snake, and it positions the two animals turning around a tree stump in a dynamic display. The owl had gone in search of food—a disemboweled mouse rests beside its talons—while her fledglings wait nestled in the hollow tree trunk, vulnerable to the preying snake. Other creatures, possibly cast from life, peek out from the dark recesses of the cave-like setting, spectators to the combat of the natural world. The unmitigated brutality of

the scene appears to charge the natural world with something other than human: the snake's mouth is open, hissing, the owl screeching back. For the spiraling tension of the work to resolve, one of these creatures will not survive. A scene of dynamism, violence, and competition, the object makes a very different argument than the carefully considered priorities of the Palissy plaque. Avisseau offers up a rapacious relationship to natural resources, one that aligns much more closely with the path ultimately taken.

KELLY PRESUTTI
Assistant Professor, History of Art and Visual Studies, Cornell University

NOTES

1 The only objects that scholars have confidently traced to Palissy's hand are fragments from the 1980s excavation of his atelier in the Tuileries Garden as part of the Grande Louvre project. The difficulties of attribution are discussed in Barbe, Bouquillon, and Gerbier 2019. I thank Sarah Grandin for her comments on an early version of this essay.
2 "tous lesdits animaux seront insculpez et esmaillez si près de la nature que les autres lizers naturels et serpents les viendront souvent admirer." Palissy 1996, 1:136.
3 Amico 1996, 14.
4 See, for example, Andrews 2014–15 and Smith 2019.
5 For the general revival of interest in Palissy in the nineteenth century, see Katz and Lehr 1996.
6 The episode is described in Palissy's *Discours admirables* (1580), included in Palissy 1996, 2:298. Given that it comes directly from the artist, there is a fair deal of self-mythologizing in the account, and some have tried to discredit it entirely; see Fragonard 1992. For my purposes, the story's resonance in the nineteenth century is of greater significance than its perceived veracity.
7 The common inclusion of Palissy's wife, whose name went unrecorded, within the scene is an elaboration of an aside the potter made claiming his troubles did not cease once he went to bed, presumably an allusion to marital strife over his obsession. Leonard Amico (1996) has gathered all known sixteenth-century documents concerning Palissy and his family and found no reference to his wife's name.
8 The story's inherent drama lent itself to both literature and theater: Honoré de Balzac evoked him numerous times in *La comédie humaine* (aspects of Palissy's biography recur in the characters of Raphaël de Valentin, Wenceslas Steinbock, Louis Lambert, and David Séchard); Eugène Brieux and Gaston Salandri dedicated a theatrical production to the artist in 1879. See Sylvos 2011.
9 Braddock and Kusserow 2018, 14.
10 Coughlin and Gephart 2020.
11 Even the place and date of his birth are up for debate; see Armogathe, Dufaÿ, and Gendron 1990.
12 "I was looking for no other enamel than white: because I had heard it said that white was the basis of all other enamels." Palissy 1957, 193.
13 Lamy 2018.
14 Kamil 2005, 49.
15 Palissy 1580, translated in Kamil 2005, 44.
16 Other illustrations of the story by Robert Fleury (1826), Hegesippe Vetter (1861), and even an elementary school primer from the 1960s replicate the tale with varying degrees of pathos and heroism. See Armogathe, Dufaÿ, and Gendron 1990, 120.
17 Préaud 1979, 32.
18 Munger 2018, 244.
19 Ibid., 246.
20 "deux noms chers aux sciences comme aux beaux arts." Paul-Antoine Cap to Brongniart in Palissy and Cap 1844, i.
21 "Il y a plusieurs gentilles inventions lesquelles sont contaminées & mesprisées pour estre trop communes aux hommes." Palissy 1996, 2:286.
22 Brongniart 1844, 2:63.
23 "Il est possible et même probable qu'on pourra cuire la porcelaine par ce moyen, mais il me paroît très probable que, quelque précaution qu'on employe, la porcelaine sera toujours moins blanche que celle que nous cuisons au bois." Brongniart to the minister of the interior, September 12, 1811; quoted in translation in Préaud 1997, 54–55.
24 Anne Lajoix (1993) describes the process.
25 The redistribution of property after the Revolution is a highly complex issue; briefly, the concept of property underwent a radical shift from something concerned with rights and privileges to a bounded quantity of land. Further, attempts to give peasants small parcels of land were at odds with agro-industrial capitalism, and the resulting tensions persisted throughout the nineteenth century. See Rosenthal 1992. For a larger discussion about the management of French forests after the Revolution, see Presutti 2024.
26 Cobb 1975, 46.
27 Plack 2013, 223.
28 Michelet 1833, 2:53.
29 Mark Stoll (2011, 14) tracks citations of Palissy in forestry texts. As Palissy's fame spread through his artistic revival, the number of citations correspondingly increased.
30 Susan Broomhall (2021) links Palissy's religion with his take on forestry.
31 Palissy 2010, 195.
32 "qu'après tous les bois serong coupez, il faut que tous les arts cessent." Ibid. My translation is adapted from an article in *The Indian Forester* in 1904, showing how Palissy was continually evoked as part of a strong argument for human-managed conservation; see Régnault 1904, 349.
33 Stoll 2011.
34 Palissy was also celebrated in George Perkins Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action* (1885; originally published as *Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human*

Action in 1864). Marsh is considered one of the first environmentalists and his invocation of Palissy further enmeshes the Renaissance potter in a conservationist agenda.

35 For a detailed account of the transformation of French forestry practices in the nineteenth century, see Corvol 1987.

36 For a plate from this service, see MMA 2002.57.

37 Archives de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, carton Pb 8, liasse 1.

38 Sèvres manufactory. *Botanists and Entomologists in the Forest of Fontainebleau* from the "Service forestier," 1836. Porcelain, Diam. 8⅝ in. (22.5 cm). Topkapı Palace Museum Collection, Istanbul, inv. 26/4971.

39 Matteson 2015.

40 I am using the word *stone* in the broadest sense here to refer to a solid mass of mineral matter; this usage resonates both with Palissy's concept of "petrifaction," by which any matter may eventually turn to stone, and with Brongniart's invocation of the affinity between ceramics and fossils, discussed below. For more on "petrifaction" see Shell 2004, 7.

41 Moon 2022.

42 Harkett 2021, 169.

43 "M Langlacé a rétablie dans l'azur du ciel le ton tel qu'il devait être avant que le vernis veillée l'eut jauni." Lancelot Théodore Turpin to Alexandre Brongniart, May 23, 1838, Archives de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, carton Pb 8, liasse 2, dossier 7.

44 Thomas J. D. Halliday (2021) acknowledges Palissy's contribution to the recognition of trace fossils.

45 Hanna Rose Shell (2004) describes Palissy's fossil studies in detail.

46 Réaumur 1720; see also [Fontenelle] 1720. While geologists suggest Réaumur gave Palissy too much credit in understanding the terrestrial earth was once covered in ocean, they acknowledge the presence of veritable marine fossils on the "rustic ceramics" and Palissy's awareness of distinct methods of fossilization, from molding to petrification, and his intuition of the biological origins of their forms. See Plaziat 1997.

47 Amico 1996, 193.

48 "Après ces deux matières, tout est périssable ou muet." Brongniart 1844, 1:x.

49 "Ces débris des anciens mondes," Brongniart 1821, 559.

50 See Barbier 1864.

51 "Un nouveau Bernard Palissy," *L'Illustration* 235 (August 28, 1847): 411–14.

REFERENCES

Amico, Leonard N.
1996 *Bernard Palissy: In Search of Earthly Paradise*. Paris and New York: Flammarion.

Andrews, Noam
2014–15 "The Space of Knowledge: Artisanal Epistemology and Bernard Palissy." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 65/66:275–88.

Armogathe, Jean-Robert, Bruno Dufaÿ, and Christian Gendron, eds.
1990 *Bernard Palissy: Mythe et réalité*. Exh. cat. Agen: Musées d'Agen.

Barbe, Françoise, Anne Bouquillon, and Aurélie Gerbier
2019 Introduction to "Dossier: Palissy et la céramique française." *Technè* 47:6–11.

Barbier, Olivier
1864 "La vignette dite 'de Bernard Palissy' lui est-elle particulière?" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 13, no. 10/12 (October–December): 277–80.

Braddock, Alan C., and Karl Kusserow
2018 "Introduction." In *Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment*, 12–39. Exh. cat. Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum.

Brongniart, Alexandre
1821 "Sur des végétaux fossiles traversant les couches du terrain houiller." *Annales des mines* 6:559–70.
1828 *Histoire des végétaux fossiles; ou, Recherches botaniques et géologiques sur les végétaux renfermés dans les diverses couches du globe*. Vol. 1. Paris: Chez G. Dufour.
1844 *Traité des arts céramiques; ou, Des poteries, considérées dans leur histoire, leur pratique et leur théorie*. 3 vols. Paris: Béchet Jeune.

Broomhall, Susan
2021 "Belon, Palissy, Ronsard, and the War for the Forests of France." In *Literature, Emotions, and Pre-Modern War: Conflict in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Claire McIlroy and Anne Scott, 179–98. Leeds, UK: ARC Humanities Press.

Cobb, Richard
1975 *Paris and Its Provinces, 1792–1802*. London: Oxford University Press.

Corvol, Andrée
1987 *L'homme aux bois: Histoire des relations de l'homme et de la forêt (XVII^e–XX^e siècle)*. Paris: Fayard.

Coughlin, Maura, and Emily Gephart
2020 *Ecocriticism and the Anthropocene in Nineteenth-Century Art and Visual Culture*. New York: Routledge.

[Fontenelle, Bernard le Bouyer de]
1720 "Sur des coquilles fossiles de Touraine." *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences* (pub. 1722): 5–9.

Fragonard, Marie-Madeleine
1992 "Les meubles de Palissy: Biographie d'artiste, légende et mythes." *Albineana: Cahiers d'Aubigné* 4:25–37.

Halliday, Thomas J. D.
2021 "The Earliest-Published Recognition of a Trace Fossil and Its Producer." *Ichnos* 28:125–32.

Harkett, Daniel
2021 "Medium as Museum: Marie-Victoire Jaquotot's Porcelain Painting and Post-Revolutionary Fantasies of Preservation." In *Time, Media, and Visuality in Post-Revolutionary France*, edited by Iris Moon and Richard Taws, 169–95. London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts.

Kamil, Neil
2005 *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517–1751*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Katz, Marshall P., and R. Lehr
1996 *Palissy Ware: Nineteenth-Century French Ceramists from Avisseau to Renoleau*. London: Athlone Press.

Lajoix, Anne
1993 "Alexandre Brongniart et la quête des moyens de reproduction en couleurs," part 2. *Sèvres: Revue de la Société des Amis du Musée national de Céramique* 2:52–58.

Lamy, Jérôme
2018 "Lire la Bible, explorer la nature: Bernard Palissy et le geste expérimental." *Revue d'histoire du protestantisme* 3, no. 3/4 (July–December): 375–93.

Marsh, George Perkins
1864 *Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*. New York: C. Scribner.
1885 *The Earth as Modified by Human Action: A Last Revision of "Man and Nature."* New York: C. Scribner's Sons.
Matteson, Kieko
2015 *Forests in Revolutionary France: Conservation, Community, and Conflict, 1669–1848*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Michelet, Jules
1833 *Histoire de France.* 5 vols. Paris: Hachette.
Moon, Iris
2022 "Alexandre Brongniart: Fragile Terrains." In *Luxury after the Terror*, 135–70. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Munger, Jeffrey
2018 *European Porcelain in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: MMA.
Palissy, Bernard
1563 *Recepte véritable par laquelle tous les hommes de la France pourront apprendre à multiplier et augmenter leurs thrésors*. . . . La Rochelle: B. Berton.
1580 *Discours admirables: De la nature des eaux et fonteines, tant naturelles qu'artificielles, des metaux, des sels & salines, des pierres, des terres, du feu & des emaux*. . . . Paris: Martin le Jeune.
1957 *The Admirable Discourses* (1580). Translated by Aurèle La Rocque. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
1996 *Oeuvres complètes*. Edited by Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, Keith Cameron, Jean Céard, Marie-Dominique Legrand, Frank Lestringant, and Gilbert Schrenck. 2 vols. Mont-de-Marsan, France: Éditions InterUniversitaires.
2010 *Oeuvres complètes*. Edited by Keith Cameron and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard. Paris: Champion.
Palissy, Bernard, and Paul-Antoine Cap
1844 *Oeuvres complètes de Bernard Palissy avec des notes et une notice historique par Paul-Antoine Cap.* Paris: J.-J. Dubochet.
Plack, Noelle
2013 "The Peasantry, Feudalism, and the Environment, 1789–93." In *A Companion to the French Revolution,* edited by Peter McPhee, 212–27. Chichester, West Sussex, and Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.
Plaziat, Jean-Claude
1997 "L'importance des coquilles fossiles du Tertiaire parisien dans l'œuvre scientifique et artistique de Bernard Palissy, à la fin du seizième siècle." In *De la géologie à son histoire, ouvrage édité en hommage à François Ellenberger,* edited by Gabriel Gohau, 15–24. Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques.
Préaud, Tamara
1979 "Le 'style Renaissance' à Sèvres au XIX[e] siècle." *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne* 6, no. 1, 28–35.
1997 as main author and curator. *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800–1847.* Exh. cat. New York: Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts.
Presutti, Kelly
2024 *Land into Landscape: Art, Environment, and the Making of Modern France*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Réaumur, René Antoine Ferchault de
1720 "Remarques sur les coquilles fossilles de quelques cantons de la Touraine, et sur les utilités qu'on en tire." *Les mémoires de mathématique et de physique* (pub. 1722): 400–416.
Régnault, F.
1904 "Deboisement and Decadence." *Indian Forester* 30:346–57.
Rosenthal, Jean-Laurent
1992 *The Fruits of Revolution: Property Rights, Litigation, and French Agriculture, 1700–1860.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Shell, Hanna Rose
2004 "Casting Life, Recasting Experience: Bernard Palissy's Occupation between Maker and Nature." *Configurations* 12, no. 1 (Winter): 1–40.
Smith, Pamela H.
2019 "Experimenting in the Material World and *on Paper* in Sixteenth-Century France." *Technè* 47:18–29.
Stoll, Mark
2011 "'Sagacious' Bernard Palissy: Pinchot, Marsh, and the Connecticut Origins of American Conservation." *Environmental History* 16 (January): 4–37.
Sylvos, Francoise
2011 "Balzac et Bernard Palissy." *L'Année balzacienne* 1, no. 12, 175–98.

Oysters, Sauerkraut, and Pagods: Sibylla Augusta's Chinese Banquet of 1729

KRISTEL SMENTEK AND CHRISTIAN KATSCHMANOWSKI

In January 1729, Franziska Sibylla Augusta of Sachsen-Lauenburg (1675–1733), Margravine of Baden-Baden, hosted a Chinese-themed dinner at Ettlingen Palace, her widow's seat near Karlsruhe in southwest Germany. The following year, Augsburg print publisher Johann Christian Leopold issued a little-known set of twenty-three hand-colored etchings to commemorate the event. The prints impart a sense of the room decor and table setting, the foods eaten, and the entertainment that accompanied the meal (fig. 1). A dedication by Leopold and an explanatory key provide further information about the menu and the materials from which some of the table decorations were made.

Leopold's prints are the reason scholars have known about the margravine's dinner at all. As recently as 2019,

Metropolitan Museum Journal, volume 59, 2024. Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with the University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1086/734021. © 2024 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figures 1, 3, 5–10, 12, and 15 have the following information: Etching with hand-coloring, overall 7 15/16 × 12 × 3/8 in. (20.2 × 30.5 × 1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1954 (54.648.1)

fig. 1 Johann Christian Leopold (German, 1699–1755). Banquet Hall, Ettlingen Palace. In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plate 1

however, the etchings were assumed to have been destroyed in World War II and were available to specialists only through prewar black-and-white reproductions. Taking the recently rediscovered, nearly complete set of prints in The Metropolitan Museum of Art as its focus, this article analyzes the array of objects and printed sources that informed the margravine's festivity, assesses the publication and circulation of the prints, and presents new archival evidence about the event. To our knowledge these etchings are the only extended pictorial document of a European early eighteenth-century Chinese-themed court celebration. They thus offer a specific case of how the distant Chinese empire was imagined in this period—materially, gastronomically, and to some extent musically. Combining actual and simulated Asian imports, including numerous pagods, the European term for statues of *Budai* (*Hotei* in Japanese), the god of good fortune (fig. 2), and other religious figures, the event recorded in the prints vividly registers the mix of attraction and ambivalence that China inspired among early eighteenth-century European elites.[1]

As recent scholars of chinoiserie have argued, China's sophisticated court culture, deep antiquity, and highly refined material culture made it an empire with

fig. 2 *Budai*. Chinese, Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), Kangxi period, ca. 1700. Porcelain with cold painting, 5⅞ × 6⅝ × 5⅞ in. (15 × 16 × 15 cm). Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg, Favorite Palace, Rastatt (inv. G 3675)

which German rulers, like many of their European peers, readily identified.[2] Yet if they could recognize similarities between their cultures and appropriated China to their own various representational demands, the prominence of "idols" on the Catholic margravine's table suggests that religion proved a limit to imaginative identification. The vision of China that emerges from Sibylla Augusta's celebration is one of delightful material pleasures and amusing aesthetic difference but also, and more negatively, of "idolatry," the latter emphasis coming at a time when imperial tolerance of Jesuit missionary efforts in China had ceased.[3] Her entertainment thus foregrounds the complexity of European responses to the powerful, distant imperium and, by extension, the complexity of chinoiserie, as it was shaped by events at home and abroad.

LOST AND FOUND

After the Heidelberg librarian Rudolf Sillib first described the prints in his 1914 study of Favorite, Sibylla Augusta's summer palace near Rastatt, interest in this unusual event among Baden's historians was piqued.[4] The most important early study of the Chinese banquet was published in 1929 by the Leipzig merchant, collector, and connoisseur of historical porcelains Georg Wilhelm Schulz (1873–1945), who discussed the set of etchings then in the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, in detail and reproduced all twenty-three of its plates in black and white.[5] Since the set Schulz discussed was the only known copy of the series, scholars have assumed the prints were lost during the bombing of Karlsruhe on September 2, 1942.[6] It was not until 2018, in the course of exhibition planning by the State Palaces and Gardens of Baden-Württemberg, that the search for the prints was renewed and the complete edition of the plates, hand-colored in Augsburg, was located in The Met the following year.[7] Two whole, uncolored sets and an incomplete hand-colored copy were also rediscovered in the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. Shortly thereafter, another colored, partial set of impressions appeared on the Paris art market.[8]

The series in The Met is missing only the preface and dedication, which in the Karlsruhe copies is printed on the verso of the title pages. The prints are trimmed to plate size and bound in a book measuring 20.2 × 30.5 × 1 centimeters. In 1954, the Museum acquired the set from bookseller Walter Schatzki, who had emigrated from Germany to New York in 1937.[9] The purchase was made in exchange for an incomplete copy of the same series, consisting of plates 4–19, which the Museum had bought a year earlier at an auction held by F. G. Staack Books and Prints in Camden, Maine.[10] How these impressions came to the United States is unknown, as is the later history of the loose sheets exchanged with Schatzki. Since plate 9 was missing from the Museum's newly accessioned copy, the impression from the incomplete set (53.634.2[6]) was retained and bound into it.

PRINTS AND PUBLISHER

Prefaced with the printed title (here translated): *Accurate Representation or Idea of the Splendid Festivity* [. . .] *given by Francisca Sibylla Augusta* [. . .] *in the newly restored palace at Ettlingen on January 11, 1729*, the series Leopold printed consists of four letterpress pages and twenty-three picture plates. The texts include the publisher's dedication and a descriptive list of captions, keyed to a printed plan of the banquet table and to depictions of the individual table ornaments.[11]

In the dedication, Leopold relates that he received the drawings of the table decorations he translated into print from a member of the margravine's household. Corroborating his claim are two designs for plates 4 and 5, perhaps by Sibylla Augusta's art adviser, Franz Pfleger (d. 1737), and now in the Kunstbibliothek Berlin (figs. 3, 4).[12] In flowery language, Leopold praises the ingenuity and arrangement of the table centerpieces, exclaiming that they would have enraptured even the emperors of China and Japan:

> The Chinese and Japanese emperors themselves would be most pleasurably delighted to see the most magnificent rarities of their empires, so grandly arranged in a German palace so distant and by so eminent a hand. The impossibility [*Unmöglichkeit*] of the work would lead them to think they were resting in the Elysian fields in a delightfully lovely dream.[13]

The consecutively numbered plates begin with an interior view of the banquet hall in Ettlingen Palace, with the set table at center and the densely packed, costumed court orchestra at left. Further exotic attributes, including a parrot and monkeys and a chandelier (fig. 1) decorated with dragons, complete the scene. Plate 2 shows the plan of the table and tableware with letters corresponding to Leopold's key and to the subsequent prints (fig. 5). Plate 3, which shows a view of the set table with a different dragon chandelier (fig. 6), is followed by twenty etchings depicting individual dishes and table decorations.

The Leopold firm was a major art publisher in Augsburg, a leading center of the print industry in

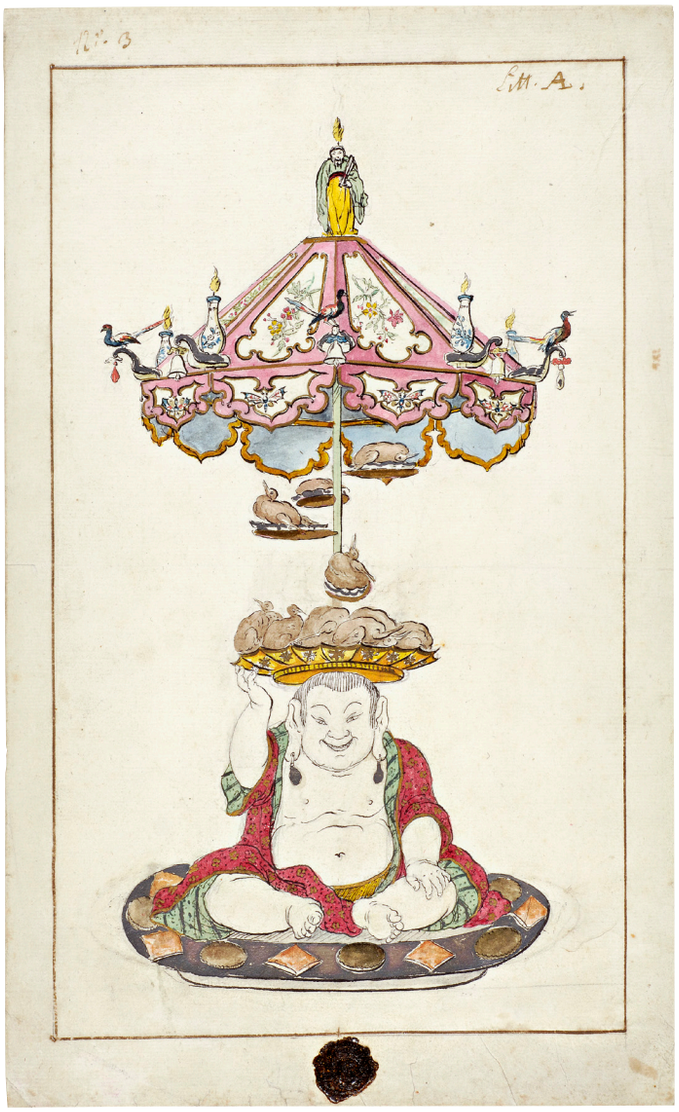

fig. 3 Johann Christian Leopold. "Pagod or bird catcher." In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plate 4

fig. 4 Unknown artist (possibly Franz Pfleger [German, d. 1737]). *Budai* sitting on a shallow bowl, 1728–29. Ink and watercolor on paper, 10 1/16 × 6 1/2 in. (25.6 × 16.5 cm). Kunstbibliothek Berlin (inv. Hdz 5864)

eighteenth-century Germany. As many as seventy-one print publishers were established there in 1734.[14] The engraver, publisher, bookseller, and art dealer Joseph Friedrich Leopold (1668–1727) founded the firm in 1719; by 1720 he employed as many as twenty-four illuminators.[15] After the founder's death in 1727, his son Johann Christian Leopold (1699–1755) continued the family business and further expanded its program.[16] Father and son largely owed their success to the imperial printing privileges for which Joseph Friedrich had applied to the emperor in Vienna in 1720.[17] Much like a copyright, the privilege protected him from unauthorized copies and reprints of his works. It also applied to his "newly invented Chinese figures in gold paper with many colors," a specialty of the house and a genre that points to the importance of Augsburg in the dissemination of what we have come to call chinoiserie, the European emulation or evocation of Chinese imports—especially through works on paper.[18] From the 1720s onward, Leopold and the city's other prominent publishers, such as Jeremias Wolff and Martin Engelbrecht, decisively shaped the *Chinamode* (Chinese fashion) and the image of China in Germany and beyond.[19]

It was common practice for nobles to order works from publishers in Augsburg, but whether Sibylla Augusta commissioned the prints of her Chinese feast or whether Leopold undertook them on his own initiative is unclear.[20] The *Accurate Representation* was not the Leopold firm's first project for the margravine. The elder Leopold had earlier published a portrait engraving of her, and her Rastatt *Hofkapellmeister* (director of the court orchestra), Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer (1656–1746), had his sheet music printed by the Leopolds.[21] Leopold's account of the genesis of the *Accurate Representation* in his dedication, however, is ambiguous; he writes that after his receipt of the drawings from

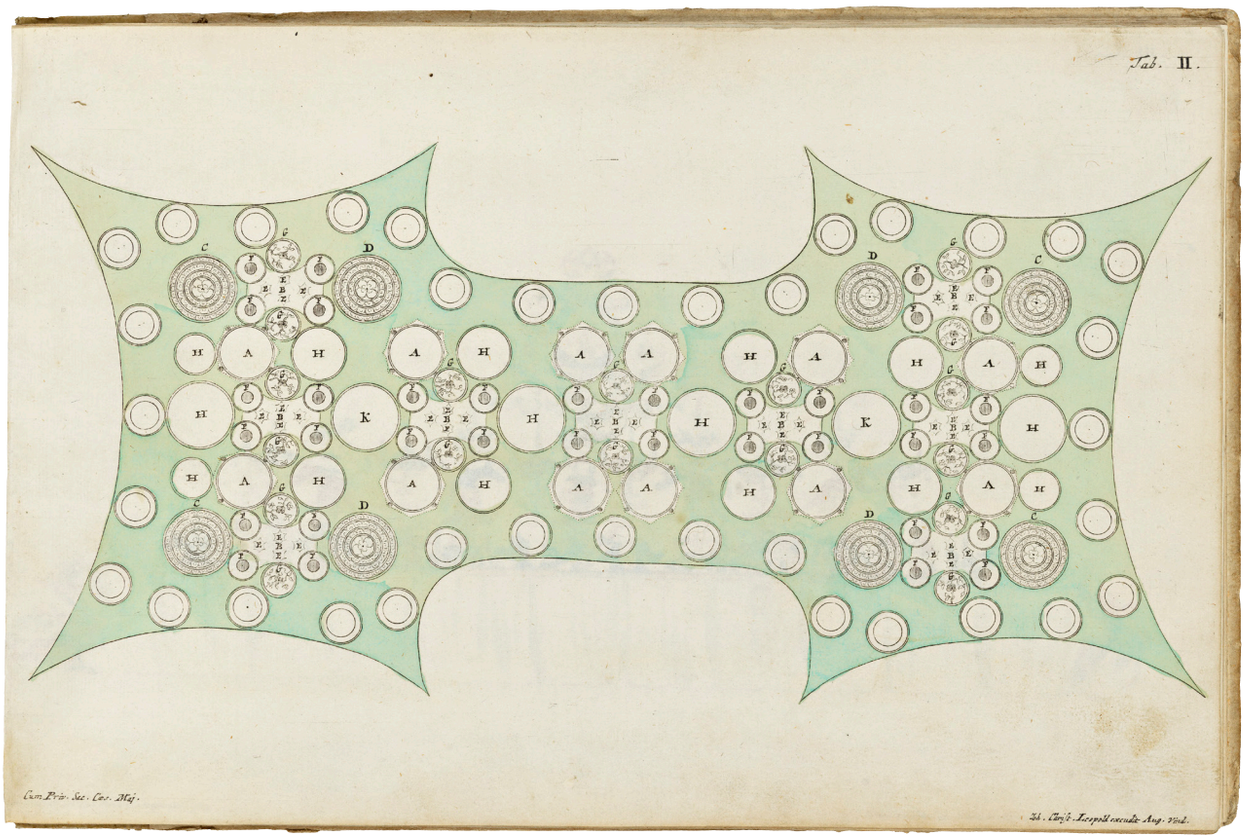

fig. 5 Johann Christian Leopold. Table plan. In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plate 2

fig. 6 Johann Christian Leopold. Profile view of set table. In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plate 3

Ettlingen, he immediately decided to publish them to make them known to the world. His dedication of the prints to Sibylla Augusta may have been intended to cultivate her support of his enterprise, an established custom in the world of publishing. The prints would also have suited his business's profile. As he states, they were new and unusual pictorial compositions; given his expertise in Chinese-themed works and his imperial printing privilege (added to the lower left of each of the plates for the margravine), he could have anticipated their profitable sale. Leopold had also issued a series of pictorial designs for tableware, including sauce bowls and tureens, so the project for Sibylla Augusta aligned well with his publishing program.[22] Yet the few surviving copies of the *Accurate Representation* suggest a limited print run and a circumscribed distribution. Perhaps the prints were commissioned by the margravine and intended as personal gifts for the festivity's participants. Offering guests a personal commemorative gift in the form of copper engravings depicting a specific celebration was not uncommon in the eighteenth century, though in this case, they would have been disseminated some time after the event.[23]

"NACH DER LANDES ART": IMAGINING CHINA IN 1729

Until recently, Leopold's etchings were the only evidence of Sibylla Augusta's dinner. To them, we can now add the margravine's diary. In a comparatively long entry, on January 11, 1729, she wrote that she had held her "Indianisch Fest" (Indian feast) that day, using the generic descriptor *Indian* despite the specifically East Asian referents conveyed in the prints. She additionally recorded that her son Ludwig Georg Simpert (1702–1761) and his wife, Maria Anna of Schwarzenberg (1706–1755), as well as ladies and gentlemen of the court and the abbot of Gengenbach monastery, had been guests, but the names of other attendees are illegible.[24] The number of place settings on the plan of her table suggests a total of thirty-six participants.

Ettlingen Palace was the traditional widow's seat of the margravines of Baden-Baden. Sibylla Augusta officially handed over the reins of government to Ludwig Georg, heir to the throne, on June 7, 1727, but she did not immediately relocate to Ettlingen, which had been damaged in the Nine Years' War (1688–97) and remained in poor condition. Shortly before the transfer of power to her son, reconstruction of the palace intensified under the supervision of builder Johann Michael Ludwig Rohrer, and in consultation with the celebrated architect Balthasar Neumann.[25] Work on the roof truss in the south wing, for example, continued until the end of 1728, so that in January 1729, the setting for the margravine's Chinese dinner was only barely ready for use. The restoration of the palace and the margravine's return to it may have been the catalyst for the Chinese dinner, the first eighteenth-century court celebration in Ettlingen. It is also possible that the event was held in honor of her younger son, August Georg (1706–1771), upon his return from Italy and before taking up his post as dean of Augsburg Cathedral.[26]

The room in which the event took place appears to have been the knights' hall (*Rittersaal*), which extended over two floors and, like the space depicted in Leopold's opening print, is two window bays wide. In 1729, the surrounding upper gallery did not yet exist, and the room lacked its stuccoes and paintings; given these conditions, the decor seen in the etching was likely temporarily installed for the celebration. The print's fidelity to the event is further suggested by the orchestra. The twenty-one musicians, depicted in fanciful Chinese costumes, is approximate to the actual size of the court orchestra. Its exact composition in 1729 is not known, but the salary list for the years 1726 and 1728 records, in addition to the *Hofkapellmeister*, that one court musician, four trumpeters, one timpanist, and a further twenty-five musicians and footmen were employed at court.[27] As was customary in the eighteenth century, a specially composed piece of music was likely performed at the feast. The unusual dynamism of the orchestra and the misshapen and oddly ornamented instruments some of its members play suggest the music was deliberately discordant.[28]

The explanatory key provides information about the dishes served at the Ettlingen dinner, which Leopold praises as the "tastiest delicacies" (*niedlichsten Delicatessen*). The identified comestibles are fattened or stuffed thrushes (*gemästen Kramets-Vögeln*; plates 4, 5; fig. 3), confectionery (plates 4, 5, 6–14, 17; figs. 7, 8), "Chinese sauerkraut" (plate 15, fig. 9), oysters (plate 16, fig. 10), "Chinese *Pastette*" or savory pies (plate 19, fig. 12), and "other foods prepared in the Chinese manner" (*andere auf diese Lands-Art zugerichtete Speiss*), as well as a pig's head and other cold fare not represented in the prints. Though the types of pies are not mentioned, the inclusion of pheasants and rabbits on plate 19 may indicate their contents (fig. 12). Very few dishes are listed by name in Leopold's key and more specific details about their preparation are lacking; instead, that they are to be understood as Chinese is primarily communicated by the table decor, notably by the pagods ornamenting the pies and the tiered salvers.

The description of some of the foods as Chinese and the corresponding implication of authenticity raise

the question of Sibylla Augusta's inspiration for the menu. How did she learn about eating habits in China? One source may have been kitchen guidebooks, such as the *Complete Kitchen and Cellar Dictionary* (*Vollständiges Küch- und Keller-Dictionarium*), published in 1716 by the Saxon cameralist Paul Jacob Marperger. Here, Asian cuisine is treated in a general way under the heading *Asiatische Speisen und Speiß-Arten*, and more specifically under the heading *Indianische Speisen und Früchte*, where individual spices, fruits, and drinks are discussed.[29] More detailed culinary instructions are missing, though, and birds, *Pasteten*, and sauerkraut are not mentioned.

Sibylla Augusta was able to obtain further intelligence about Chinese food and dining practices from travel reports. One particularly informative account was that of Eberhard Isbrand Ides, a native of Glückstadt in Holstein and a diplomat in Russian service, who traveled to Beijing in 1692 to negotiate the course of the Russian-Chinese border.[30] In his report on the mission, Ides describes two banquets at the Qing imperial court that show that although the margravine was by no means interested in an authentic reenactment of the Chinese festivities, she may have taken inspiration from them. Ides's account was first published in Dutch in 1704 and translated into English and German thereafter.[31] It was also anthologized in compendia of travelogues, including the widely read series issued by French publisher Jean-Frédéric Bernard in 1727—two years before the Ettlingen dinner.[32]

A comparison of the festivity in 1729 with descriptions like those by Ides reveals striking parallels. Ides arrived in Beijing on November 3, 1693, where, at a welcome banquet held in his honor, he was simultaneously served cold dishes consisting of roast goose, chicken, pork, and mutton, as well as fruit, confectionery, and pastries. The presentation must have been impressive. He reports bowl after bowl, all in silver, and placed one above the other; he counted as least seventy.[33] At a second banquet in the palace of the Chinese viceroy, Ides's account of the food and tableware is even more detailed. The meal took place in the main hall of the palace, where the tables were covered with fine silks embroidered with gold and adorned with vases filled with colored silk flowers so convincing they seemed real. Incense burners and a variety of painted and gilded wooden figures also decorated the tables. Meat dishes were served but were also presented as *Schauessen* (food for display rather than consumption) in a row of bowls and ornamented with silk flowers. Sweets were served in porcelain dishes, and music was played and a comedy performed during the meal.[34] In Ettlingen, as in Beijing, the meal was accompanied by music, the table was decorated with a variety of painted figures and tableware, and meats and desserts stood side by side.

Though the foods on Sibylla Augusta's table were not explicitly exotic, their selection for a Chinese-themed banquet is suggestive. Sibylla Augusta's notes in her *Vierfacher Hand-Schrein unterschiedlich-angemerckter Kunst- Speiß- Confitur- und Medicinal-Sachen*, the recipe book she kept beginning in 1688, include instructions on the preparation of thrushes, *Pasteten*, jams, and candied fruits.[35] The book was not a practical household aid or cookbook in the modern sense; it was rather an aspect of female representational practice and an expression of a sophisticated court dining culture in which these dishes were regularly served. As her recipe book shows, birds were common fare on elite tables, but birds were also known to be consumed in Asia. The French ambassador Simon de La Loubère, for example, in his *Du Royaume de Siam* (*A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*), first published in 1691, noted the excellence and variety of small birds, including parrots, eaten in Siam (Thailand), a country often conflated with China at the time and which he visited in 1687. He also noted the presence of "delicate small oysters" on the Siamese table.[36] Perhaps the most unusual Asian dish for European audiences, however, was bird's nest soup, a menu item discussed by the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher in his best-selling book, *China Monumentis* (commonly known as *China Illustrata*), first published in Latin in Amsterdam in 1667 and translated and anthologized soon thereafter. It is tempting to interpret Sibylla Augusta's "Chinese" sauerkraut as an evocation of the birds' nests described by Kircher as a delicacy particularly appreciated by the Chinese (fig. 9). Leopold's print shows cooked birds' legs and heads in the pyramid of sauerkraut, including a head prominently placed at its apex. Kircher reported that the nests were "diaphanous or transparent," a quality that sauerkraut approximates rather well.[37]

The designer of the ornaments for the margravine's Chinese dinner is unknown. Decor for the table was usually the task of court confectioners or independent confectioners, who had become professionalized at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[38] Sibylla Augusta's salary list of 1726/28 indicates that both a pastry baker and a confectioner were employed at her court.[39] It was also common for princesses to occupy themselves with desserts and thus also with the creation of table designs.[40] It is conceivable that Sibylla Augusta was

fig. 7 Johann Christian Leopold. Sweetmeat holders. In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plates 6–14

Tab. VI.
B

Tab. VII.
B

Tab. VIII.
B

Tab. IX.
B

Tab. X.
B

Tab. XI.
B

Tab. XII.
B

Tab. XIII.
B

Tab. XIIII.
B

fig. 8 Johann Christian Leopold. Porcelain for confectionary and for lighting. In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plate 17

fig. 9 Johann Christian Leopold. "Chinese sauerkraut." In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plate 15

actively involved in conceptualizing the decorations for the Chinese dinner and that she supervised their fabrication.

On the evidence of Leopold's prints, the margravine and her staff were inspired by imports in her collection and by texts and illustrations in contemporary publications about China and Siam. From Leopold's dedication and the two sheets in Berlin, we know the prints were based on drawings from Ettlingen, but how dependent the opening print is on such a model is unclear (fig. 1). As discussed above, the room is identifiable with the *Rittersaal* in Ettlingen Palace. The wall lights and blue and white porcelains on consoles also echo extant objects from Sibylla Augusta's collection.[41] Other elements of the print, however, such as the birds in cages and the two playful monkeys climbing a pole with a parrot at its top, are almost certainly exotic embellishments added by its designer.[42] Any number of Chinese-themed European prints, including those by the French engraver Jean Bérain the Elder or the Augsburg publishers, could have served as models.

Some of the opening print's formal qualities, on the other hand, such as its steep perspective, suggest the deliberate emulation of Chinese woodblock prints. As recent research in Dresden and elsewhere has shown, such works arrived in significant numbers in early eighteenth-century Europe. As Christiane Hertel has argued, the representation of space in Leopold's print seems to follow Chinese rather than European pictorial conventions; it thus lends the image of the margravine's Chinese-themed feast a distinctive "Chinese" visual quality, while also allowing for an overview of the table decorations.[43] Equally distinctive is the compressed, even frenzied stacking of the musicians at left that introduces a notable asymmetry to the image. It seems plausible that this aspect of the composition also emulated Chinese models. Color woodblock prints from

fig. 10 Johann Christian Leopold. Oysters. In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plate 16

Suzhou with particularly energetic depictions, such as "Scenes from Monk Xuanzang's Pilgrimage to the West," published by the Wang Junfu workshop in the late seventeenth century, for example, were known to be present in eighteenth-century European collections; an impression of this print was inventoried in the Elector of Saxony's cabinet in Dresden in 1738.[44] Whether it was Sibylla Augusta's draftsman or Leopold's printmaker who incorporated these Chinese elements into the work is unclear; that it is utterly unlike any other extant Chinese-themed prints published by Leopold's firm suggests it was the margravine's artist who so closely engaged with Chinese art. Or, alternatively, perhaps these references to Chinese conventions register Leopold's declared ambition to render the etchings for the margravine "after the Chinese fashion" (*nach der Landes Art*).[45]

The impact of the embassies from Siam to the French court and from the French court to Siam in the late seventeenth century is also on view in the opening print. The conical, pointed headgear of some of the musicians in the etching, for example, emulates that of the Siamese emissaries received at the court of Louis XIV in 1686. As scholars have shown, this event stimulated the imaginations of European audiences, both because of the prodigious numbers of Chinese and Japanese porcelains and of gold and silver vessels sent to Versailles from Siam, and the numerous French prints and medals that documented the ambassador, his retinue, and their gifts.[46] Equally stimulating was La Loubère's account of the second French embassy to Siam in 1687. Indeed, La Loubère's narrative may have been one inspiration for the event that scholars have proposed as a model for Sibylla Augusta's banquet in 1729, the Chinese-themed *collation*, or light meal, hosted by Philip I (referred to as Monsieur), brother of Louis XIV, in honor of Marie Adélaïde of Savoy, Duchess of Burgundy, at Versailles on January 13, 1700.[47] A lengthy report in the *Mercure Galant* detailed the rich textiles, profusion of porcelain, and *officiers*, musicians, and singers dressed as pagods, all of whom nodded their heads, as if porcelain figures come to life, at the duchess's entry.[48] Later in the evening, the guests were served coffee and chocolate on *bandèges*, large trays that required two servants to carry. La Loubère identified *bandèges* as lacquered "tables with a border and without feet" that were used without tablecloths.[49] Ides, for his part, noted that he and other guests sat cross-legged on the floor before low tables at the imperial banquet he attended in Beijing.[50]

Accounts like Ides's may have inspired the design of the remarkably low table depicted in the opening print and its unusually short tablecloth. The margravine was particularly well informed about the art of japanning and varnishing (the emulation of Asian lacquer), and she commissioned several japanned items for her palaces.[51] The cloth's dark border of flowering prunus boughs suggests the emulation of mother-of-pearl inlaid black lacquer from China or Japan, and the scrolling cloud motifs of the table's stretchers offer a similarly exotic touch. The tabletop's shape, on the other hand, evokes the upturned eaves of Chinese buildings, a distinctive architectural feature communicated in printed images, whether woodblock prints produced in China or European Chinese-themed designs. Sibylla Augusta's striking tabletop is too close to the floor for chairs. Perhaps the more conventional rectangular table with a full-length tablecloth anchored by dragons shown in profile in plate 3 was the one around which the margravine's guests actually dined (fig. 6).

The decor on the margravine's table combined actual Asian porcelains, highly desirable imports whose mysteries of fabrication had only very recently begun to be understood in Europe, and fantastical assemblages of signifiers of China made in other materials. The ornaments on plates 4 and 5, described in Leopold's key as "pagods or bird catchers," commingle *Budai* figures, birds, bells, and parasols, as well as blue and white vases meant to look like porcelain but identified in Leopold's key as made of wax (fig. 3). Each structure is surmounted by a robed figure with a flaming head, which, like the vases, are wax candles. The bird catchers hold trays of cooked thrushes on plates above them, and baked goods line the perimeter of the serving dishes on which they rest. The material from which the twelve *Budai* figures were made is not indicated, but in their form, they are clearly adaptations of the numerous pagods that Sibylla Augusta, like other elite collectors, owned; the extant preparatory drawings for these two table decorations show how closely the figures were modeled on actual Asian porcelains presumably from her collection (fig. 2). At least thirteen porcelain "Bachotten" (pagods) were itemized at Favorite Palace in 1734, and an inventory taken in 1762 of the same palace records, includes among other figures, "2 incense burners with pagods" (*2 Rauchfessel mit Pagoten*), "2 pagods painted red" (*2 roth gemahlte Pagoten*), and "an idol's temple with a pagod sitting inside" (*Gotzen Temple mit einem darin sitzenden Bacgot*) on a table in the Mirror Cabinet.[52] At least one surviving early eighteenth-century European table centerpiece shows that actual porcelain figures of *Budai* were occasionally used as supports, but the size and posture of Sibylla Augusta's bird catchers, who raise one hand to balance the superstructure, argue instead for their emulation in another material.[53] They may have been made of painted wood, akin to the lacquered wooden ornaments and pagods furnished by Martin Schnell and his workshop for Augustus the Strong in the 1710s and 1720s, or fashioned from a combination of wood, wax, cloth, or other substances.[54]

fig. 11 Incense stand. Japanese, ca. 1700. Porcelain, Diam. 8 7/16 in. (21.5 cm), H. 2 9/16 in. (6.5 cm). Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg, Favorite Palace, Rastatt (inv. G 3282)

The formats of Sibylla Augusta's serving dishes, however, raise the possibility that this was food for the eyes rather than for the palate. The bird catchers and the multiple pagods supporting the tiered dishes of sauerkraut and oysters seem particularly awkward for serving; they inhibit as much as they invite access to the plates (figs. 3, 9, 10). It seems plausible that the dishes with edible food for the margravine's guests were placed under the sixteen food covers of various sizes depicted on plate 18, which were described in Leopold's key as Chinese and made of porcelain. Writing about the prints in 1929, Schulz reasonably claimed the covers could only be faience (glazed earthenware).[55] Extant export porcelains, however, indicate that such items were made to order in China, though they were produced only for a short time, from about 1720 to about 1740, and are thus rare today.[56] Perhaps Sibylla Augusta herself owned such uncommon objects, though other than these prints, documentary evidence seems lacking. If the covers placed on her candlelit table were faience, the play of reflections between European glazed earthenware and Asian porcelains would have offered a convincing illusion of a bountiful, porcelain-laden dining table in China. A colored impression of plate 18 in Karlsruhe, however, shows the covers painted with polychrome figurative scenes on a black ground, a combination that suggests a black lacquer finish, perhaps applied to metal or wood.[57]

Thirty-six porcelain dishes placed on the table would have furthered the sense of abundance (figs. 8, 9, 10). Sibylla Augusta had several such wares in her collection to choose from. In 1734, for example, forty-eight porcelain "dishes for confectionery in various forms" were inventoried at Favorite.[58] Also present on the table were the porcelain candleholders described in Leopold's key as Japanese. A similar Japanese object remains in the collection at Favorite (fig. 11). According to the plan, an impressive eighteen such ceramics were used for lighting on the table. The figural grouping ornamenting the *Pastette* on the bottom of plate 19 can likewise be correlated with one of two Japanese incense burners at Favorite that are likely the "2 incense burners with pagods," inventoried there in 1762 (figs. 12, 13).[59] The means existed for a support to be built into the pie, though whether the valued ceramic itself or a model of

fig. 12 Johann Christian Leopold. "Chinese *Pasteten*." In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plate 19

fig. 13 Incense burner with *Hotei*. Japanese, ca. 1700. Porcelain, Diam. 5⅛ in. (13 cm), H. 7 1/16 in. (18 cm). Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg, Favorite Palace, Rastatt (inv. G 3672)

it in another material was used is unclear.[60] If it was a model, the result was a playful exchangeability between the real thing and an emulation of it.

Complementing the Asian porcelains on the margravine's table were nine different figurative sweetmeat holders, each represented individually (fig. 7). Identified as Chinese in Leopold's key, the figures must have been quite large, as each is laden "with all kinds of confectionery" (*mit allerhand Confect*) that they carry in trays above their heads. The trays are in turn topped by more blue and white wax candles in the form of vases. Further dishes of sweets, perhaps also made of porcelain, and what appear to be glass beakers of colored jellies or jams are placed on the elaborate bases, whose scrolling cloud motifs echo the stretchers of the table. As Schulz noted, the figures they support were almost certainly not of porcelain or faience; he plausibly suggested plaster, wax, or wood.[61] Another possibility is sugar; an inventory of the margravial *Hofkonditorei* (court pastry kitchen) taken later in the eighteenth century lists the wooden molds for tragacanth (sugar paste) table decorations that would have been typically used in German courts.[62] Period cookbooks even recommended the use of sugar for the fabrication of serving dishes; such sources raise the intriguing possibility that these figures, the bird catchers, the plates, and perhaps also the foods they supported were of sugar, their pleasures residing as much in their material deceptions as in their references to China.[63]

In the design of their poses and patterned costumes, the sweetmeat holders appear to be amalgams of motifs from printed images and imported porcelain or steatite (soapstone) Buddhist and Daoist figures. Many carved Chinese steatites featured in early eighteenth-century court collections, including those of Sibylla Augusta. The inventory taken at Favorite in 1762, for example, lists eight seated and twelve standing steatite figures of different sizes in the palace's Mirror Room.[64]

fig. 14 Johan Nieuhof, *Mendicant Monks*. In Nieuhof 1666, 267. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, A 4820 RES

Extant statuettes amassed in the eighteenth century in Dresden, Braunschweig, and Gotha show that these figures often carried lotus flowers, baskets, vessels, and other accessories. For the Ettlingen dinner, the margravine's craftsmen transformed them into blue and white porcelains, tea trays, and instruments.[65] Other elements, like the clothing worn by the figure in plate 7 (fig. 7, top center), suggest that standing Japanese porcelain beauties or actors may have inspired their form and costume.[66] Still other details indicate the designer's familiarity with printed images. The unusual hairstyle of the figure in plate 7 and the headgear of those represented in plates 9 and 14 (fig. 7, second row, far left, and bottom right) appear to be based on prints of Chinese women in Kircher's *China Monumentis*.[67] It seems likely that the rare, Japanese textile appliqués decorating the Green Room at Favorite, which were in place by 1723, may also have furnished models for the costumes of these table ornaments.[68]

One further intriguing use of printed imagery by Sibylla Augusta's designer is exemplified by the forty-nine wax candles in the form of monks or *luohans* (Buddhist holy men) on her table. Thirty-six of these candles were symmetrically distributed across the table, twelve more were placed atop the parasols held by the bird catchers, and at least one stood in a small blue and white bowl supported on an inverted blue and white porcelain cup (figs. 3, 8, 10). The figures are dressed in the modest robes of Buddhist acolytes, but they also carry an attribute resembling the clappers of a Daoist immortal. What most identifies them as monks are the flames on their heads, an iconography derived not from any porcelain or steatite figures the margravine may have owned, but from printed European accounts of Buddhist monastic rituals.[69] These included burning incense on one's scalp, a practice pictured in Johan Nieuhof's influential, illustrated account of his travels with the Dutch East India Company embassy to Beijing first printed in Dutch in 1665, and widely reproduced elsewhere (fig. 14).[70] Sibylla Augusta was a devout Catholic who likely shared the Jesuits' ambition to convert the Chinese to Christianity and their corresponding condemnation of what they perceived as idolatry. The presence of so many wax monks, all gradually disappearing before her guests' eyes, suggests that layered into the material pleasures of Chinese imports and of "playing Chinese" at table was also a belittling of Chinese belief systems that aligned with missionary biases against them.

The forty-nine monks lend the comic mode of the dinner a critical edge, one that is equally on view in the final four etchings of Leopold's series (fig. 15). Leopold describes them as "various Chinese grotesques" (*unterschiedlich Chinesische Grotesquen*), which decorated cold dishes, including a pig or boar's head, served at Sibylla Augusta's dinner.[71] The vignettes consist of boys wrestling, children playing with animals, and fantastical creatures, including insects, clothed monkeys, flying cats and fish, and a crab with a second rabbit's head that move "China" fully into the realm of the absurd. Like Sibylla Augusta's table ornaments, these concluding prints mixed fiction with specific Chinese referents. While some motifs, such as the monkeys, can be linked to any number of European *chinois* prints, the depictions of the playing boys (plates 21 and 23), or the *qilin* and rider (plate 20), point to direct Chinese models.[72]

In 1929, Schulz proposed that these final prints may record paper ornaments.[73] If so, it may well be the contemporary fashion for *Ausschneidebögen* (decoupage prints) that inspired the margravine's designer. Featuring multiple small, separate motifs meant to be cut out and pasted onto other supports, these prints were an Augsburg specialty. The supposed irrationality of Chinese aesthetics assumed by European viewers and the wondrous animals and plants described by authors like Kircher made China a frequent referent in *Ausschneidebögen*.[74] Leopold may have deliberately arranged these closing pages with the market in mind. Yet the specificity of the designs is unlike his firm's other print production, a difference that suggests they, like the other ornaments on view at her festivity, were produced by members of the margravine's household, perhaps even by Sibylla Augusta herself.[75]

Coming at the end of the *Accurate Representation*, the cumulative effect of the final plates is to dissolve the

fig. 15 Johann Christian Leopold. "Chinese grotesques." In *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730, plate 22

symmetrical order of the table plan and the succession of lettered ornaments into an airy irrationality. The insubstantiality and absurdity of the concluding prints capture some of the ambivalence that characterizes the *Chinamode* of early eighteenth-century court culture. Sibylla Augusta's Chinese dinner conveys a deep interest in and admiration for China, and simultaneously makes light, not only of China, but also of her and her guests' fascination with it.[76] China was an unquestionably civilized polity with whose refined court culture, as it was conveyed in travel accounts and materially exemplified in objects, European elites identified. It was also a modern economic powerhouse with near absolute control over the trade in its envied goods. It possessed the secrets of lacquer, which Sibylla Augusta so appreciated, and of porcelain, whose production had only very recently begun to be understood and challenged by the Meissen factory (and of whose wares Sibylla Augusta was a prescient collector). But if China elicited admiration, it equally called forth uncertainty. On Sibylla Augusta's Chinese-themed table and in the prints that commemorated it, China's aesthetic systems were both emulated and overturned, and its "superstitious" iconographies were knowingly transformed into comedic objects. We might detect in this oscillation between identification and estrangement a defensive response to the rival empire of China, its power contained by the subservient pagods and by the Buddhist *luohans* melting into nothingness on Sibylla Augusta's table.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are grateful to Ulrike Grimm for introducing us to each other and for many stimulating conversations, as we are to Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, Cynthia Volk, Becky MacGuire, Christiaan Jörg, Kee Il Choi Jr., Femke Speelberg, Anton Schweizer, Hertha Schwarz, Sandra Eberle and the peer reviewers of this article for their suggestions and advice. Kristel Smentek's research was generously supported by a Getty Library Research grant.

KRISTEL SMENTEK
Associate Professor of Art History, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

CHRISTIAN KATSCHMANOWSKI
Curator, State Palaces and Gardens of Baden-Württemberg

APPENDIX

The title and caption pages are transcribed from *Accurate Representation* [. . .] *Des Herrlichen Festins*, 1730. MMA 54.648.1.

The titulature and dedication page are transcribed from the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Leopold X 936-1 verso and Leopold X 936-2 verso.

Title

Accurate Representation, / Oder Vorstellung, / Des Herrlichen Festins, / Welches die Durchleuchtigste Fürstin und Frau / Frau / Francisca Sibylla Augusta, / Marggräffin zu Baaden und Hochberg & Wittib, / Gebohrne Herzogin zu Sachsen-Lauenburg, / Dero Durchleuchtigsten Familie / In den wider [sic] *hergestellten Schloss Ettlingen / Anno 1729, den 11. Januarÿ gegeben, / zu finden, / Bey Johann Christian Leopold / Kunstverlegern in Augsburg.*

Titulature

Der / Durchleuchtigsten Fürstin und Frauen / Frauen / Franciscæ Sibyllæ Augustæ Marggræffin zu Baaden und Hochberg, / Landgræffin zu Saussenberg, Græffin zu / Sponheim und Eberstein, Frauen zu / Rötteln, Baadenweiler, Lahr, Mahlberg, wie auch / der Landvogthey Ortenau und Kehl & Wittib. / Gebohrnen Herzogin zu Sachsen, / Engern und Westphalen, & Meiner Gnädigsten Fürstin und Frauen.

Dedication

Durchleuchtigste Fürstin / Gnädigste Fürstin und Frau / So bald das Glück gehabt durch einen aus Euer Hochfürstlichen Durchleuchtigkeit underthänigsten Dieneren, gegenwärtig / admirable Abzeichnungen eines von Euer Hochfürstl. Durchl. Anno 1729, den 11. Januarÿ, in den wieder hergestellten Schloß / Ettlingen dero Durchleuchtigsten Familie zu hoher Belustigung angestellten Festins zu Gesicht, ja gar zu Handen zu bekommen / Habe ich so gleich die billichmässige Æstime derselben mich zu der Resolution bewegen lassen, selbige in Kupffer zu bringen und / nach der Landes Art auf das natürlichste illuminiret der Curieusen Welt bekant zu machen, mithin derselben die ungemeine Erfindung / und nie gesehene raritæt zur Bewunderung vorzustellen; Dann die Chinesisch und Japonische Kajser würden selber in vergnügteste Ent / zückug gesezet werden, wann sie in einem so weit entfernten teutschen Pallast ihrer Reiche vortrefflichste Seltenheiten so magnific und von / einer so hohen Hand so nett rangiret und concentriret erblicken sollten; Die Unmöglichkeit des Wercks würde Sie auf die Gedancken bringen, / sie ruhen in den Elisæischen Feldern, und werden durch einen anmuthigen Traum ergözet. Es kan nicht anderst sein, als das die jenigen / Hohen Gäste, so diessen Hochfürstl. Panquet beyzuwohnen das Glück gehabt, über der unvergleichlichsten Augen-Weide und / raren Music ihren Gusto mit den niedlichsten Delicatessen zu sättigen werden vergessen haben; Ein mehrers von diesser Hoch=/fürstl. nie genug gepriessenen Erfindung und nie vorgekommenen Magnificenz anzuführen, sind weder diese Blätter, noch mein Kiel / fähig zu fassen, und auszudrucken und bedaure vielmehr, das bey aller Vollkommenheit dieses pomposen Aufzugs, all mein Fleiss / und Kunstanwendung nicht sufficient selbigen nach gehabter Zier und ausnehmender Vortrefflichkeit in Kupffer abzuschatten. / Indessen fasse doch in aller Unterthänigkeit den Muth Euer Hochfürstl. Durchl. diese geringe Arbeit in unterthänigster Submissi / on zu dediciren, und vor dero Hochfürstl. Augen zu legen, in getrösteter Hoffnung Euer Hochfürstl. Durchl. werden dieses der / Kunst nach ohnansehnliche Werck eines unterthänigst gesuchten Gnaden Blickes würdigen, womit unter devotester appreciirung / aller selbst desiderirten Hochfürstl. Prosperitæt Höchst meritirter Ruhm Erweitterung und gloriosen flor dero Hochfürstl. Hausses zu Hohen Hulden in tieffester Demuth mich unterthänigst empfehle als / Euer Hochfürstlichen Durchleuchtigkeit / Meiner Gnädigsten Fürstin und Frauen / Unterthänigster Knecht, / Johann Christian Leopold Burger und Kunst-Verleger / Augsburg / Anno 1730.

Captions

Explication / Aller nachfolgenden Tabellen, /
Tab.
I. Stellet vor die mit Speissen völlig besezte Hochfürstliche Panquet-Taffel, mit den dabey sich befundenen Music-Chor.
II. Ist der Grundriss derselben, die Littern auf solchen, wie auch allen folgenden Blättern, zeigen den Platz an, wo die Speissen nach ihrer Ordnung gestanden sind.
III. Der Profil, oder Seiten-Aufzug von obbenannter Taffel.
IV. und V. Pagoden, oder Chinesische Vogelfänger mit gemästen Kramets-Vögeln.
VI. biss XIV. Stellen Chinesische Figuren vor, die auf Postamenten gestanden, und mit allerhand Confect sind belegt gewesen.
XV. Ist eine Pyramide mit Chinesischen Sauren-Kraut, nebst einer Chinesischen Confect-Schalen, und 2. dergleichen Vasen, von weisem Wachs, die um und um zur Illumination auf denen Paresols gestanden.
XVI. Eine Pyramide mit Austern, nebst einer Confect-Schale, und zweyen Chinesischen Figuren von Wachs, die zur Illumination gedienet.
XVII. Ein Leuchter von Japonischen Porcellain, samt dreyen Chinesischen Confect-Schale, unter welchen eine, mit einer Figur mit Confect beleget, zur Illumination gleichfalls gedienet hat.
XVIII. Presentiret Chinesische Glocken ebenfalls von Porcellain, mit welchen die warmen Speissen zugedecket gewesen waren.
XIX. Eine Chinesische Pastette, und andere auf diese Lands-Art zugerichte Speisse.
XX. bis XXIII. Stellen unterschiedlich Chinesische Grotesquen vor, womit der Schweins-Kopff, und andere kalte Speisen ausgeziert gewesen sind.

NOTES

1 On the eighteenth-century European fashion for pagods, see Kisluk-Grosheide 2002 (Sibylla Augusta's dinner is mentioned on 194n17) and Martin 2022. In Europe the term *pagod* was used interchangeably for Asian temples and for the gods they housed. See Zedler 1740, 132.

2 See, for example, Yonan 2004, Menne 2018, and Hertel 2019; see also Scott 2003 and Thomas 2009.

3 Johns 2016.

4 Sillib (1914) reproduced the opening print of the series. The etchings remain virtually the only documentation we have of Sibylla Augusta's festivity. Anna Maria Renner (1938) provided many details about the event but cited no archival sources for her claims, which were repeated in Knauber 1975 and Hertel 2019. Much of the margravine's correspondence has been lost and what remains is often faded and illegible. Significant recent archival research (for example, Grimm 2008 and Vetter 2019) has yielded neither Renner's sources nor further documentation of the event other than the diary entry discussed below.

5 Schulz 1929; the illustrations in Schulz were reproduced again in Knauber 1975.

6 Knauber 1975; Grimm 2008, 16–17; Trauth 2009, 122n27; Ulrichs 2009, 297; Hertel 2019, 45–49; Vetter 2019, 216–17.

7 The exhibition, which initiated the renewed search for the prints, was *Repräsentation und Rückzug: Die Eremitage von Schloss Favorite Rastatt*, on view at Favorite Palace, July 21–October 21, 2018; see Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg 2018. The authors of the present article located the impressions in New York independently in 2019 and 2020. The prints in The Met were also identified, but not discussed, in Suebsman 2019, 134.

8 Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, inv. X-936 and X-937 (complete, uncolored sets) and X-938 (incomplete, hand-colored impressions). For the impressions on the Paris art market, see Camille Sourget Librairie sale 2019, lot 20.

9 Walter (originally Walther) Schatzki was a nationally renowned bookseller whose shop, founded in Frankfurt am Main in 1920, focused on literature for children and young adults as well as art historical and special edition books; see Fischer 2012, 360. After immigrating to the United States in 1937 due to the increasing oppression of Jews in National Socialist Germany, he immediately resumed his activities as a bookseller and ran the antiquarian bookshop Walter Schatzki, Old and Rare Books, Prints and Autographs in New York, specializing in original manuscripts by important composers, prints, and children's books; see Anonymous 1999.

10 MMA 53.634.2(1–16). We thank Liz Zanis, collections specialist, Department of Drawings and Prints, MMA, for her generous help with our research.

11 See Appendix for transcriptions of the title and the texts.

12 Kunstbibliothek Berlin, inv. Hdz. 5864, Hdz. 5865. See Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1939, 519, no. 4192f. Both sheets came to Berlin in 1937 from a private collection in Baden. Koch 1939, 13. The previous owner was Hilda Hoffacker. We thank Jana Hettmann, Kunstbibliothek Berlin, for this information. One of the two drawings was exhibited in *China und Europa* 1973, 333, no. Q19. The artist who produced the two Berlin drawings is unknown, but Pfleger is a likely candidate.

13 See the full Dedication in the Appendix.

14 Augustyn 1997, 801.

15 Spamer 1930, 223.

16 Joseph Friedrich Leopold died on June 2, 1727. Haemmerle 1928, 68. On the Leopold firm, see Marsch 2001.

17 Stadtarchiv Augsburg, "Privilegien II, kaiserliche Privilegien 1665–1778," fols. 32–40.

18 "gantz neu erfundene Chinesische Figuren in Drapdor mit vielen Farben"; ibid., fol. 28, September 20, 1720. The privilege was for brocade papers (*Brokatpapier*), decorated papers partially printed with gold or silver foil. For examples of Leopold's brocade papers, see Wöhler 2009, nos. 134 and 135.

19 See Ulrichs 2009 and Werkstetter 2009. Chinese-themed prints published by the Leopolds are reproduced in Schulz 1926; Ulrichs 2009, fig. 8; and Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden 2021, no. 30, fig. 3.

20 Augustyn 1997, 811–12.

21 Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, inv. A 25225. The inscription identifies Joseph Friedrich Leopold as the engraver.

22 Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, inv. KI 1-408-1.

23 Marperger 1716, 532, and Reed 2015.

24 GLA, Hfk-Hs, 14, n.p. (entry for January 11). Sibylla Augusta used the Diocese of Speyer's calendar of saints' feast days (*Directorium Dioecesis Spirensis sive ordo recitandi Horas Canonicas et Celebrandi missas Juxta Breviarium, & Missale Romanum*) for the year 1729 as her diary. In the calendar's margins she recorded daily events and visits from her family with a few sparse notes.

25 Lacroix, Hirschfeld, and Paeseler 1936, 47; Stenzel 1997, 154–76.

26 Renner (1938, 163) suggested the event was held to celebrate August Georg's return from Italy, an account adopted by subsequent scholars, but she provided no archival references. The extant documentary record is unclear; one document seems to suggest he was in Augsburg on January 7, 1729. See Seiler 1989, 291n11.

27 "Anno 1726/1728 Wie viel in diesen Jahren an Persohnen im Hochfürstl. Sold und Eydt bey Hoff gestanden"; Vetter 2019, 263–70.

28 Walter 1990, 110 and 224.

29 Marperger 1716, 880–82 (*Asiatische Speisen*), and 52–53 (*Indianische Speisen*).

30 Ides 1707. On Ides, see Nolte 1974. The actual authorship of Ides's travel report is not certain. Adam Brand or a third person who brought together Ides's and Brand's impressions is considered to be a coauthor; see Hundt 1999, 67.

31 Christian Mentzel provided the first written account of the mission in his work *Kurtze Chinesische Chronologia*, published in Berlin in 1696 in an appendix titled "Moscowitische Reise-Beschreibung zu Lande nach China." Mentzel received the manuscript from Johannes Royer, the Elector of Brandenburg's envoy to the Tsar's court. The manuscript subsequently came into the possession of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who translated the text into Latin and included it in his *Novissima Sinica* in 1697. For the publication history see Hundt 1999, 66.

32 Bernard 1727, 141–44. Reports of travel to Asia are likely to have particularly attracted the margravine's attention. Ettlingen barber Franz Caspar Schillinger dedicated the account of his journey to India from 1699 to 1702, published in Nuremberg in 1707, to her (Schillinger 1707). On his voyage, see Zollner 1993.

33 Ides 1707, 154.

34 Ibid., 169–71.

35 On this book, see Zollner 1975. Sibylla Augusta's cookbook is now missing, but an identical manuscript cookbook kept by her sister, Anna Maria Franziska von Sachsen-Lauenburg (1672–1741), is preserved in the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg

(Msc. Var. 8). See Zimmer 2018. Sibylla Augusta was actively involved in the kitchen, as her surviving large collection of loose handwritten recipes, copied and separated from printed works, testifies. The recipes have been brought together in an anthology; GLA, Hfk-Hs 53.

36 La Loubère 1693, chap. 4:35 (oysters), 38 (birds).
37 Kircher 1667, translated in Nieuhof 1673, 415.
38 Gugler 2002, 133–34.
39 See the salary list of 1726/28 in Vetter 2019, 264.
40 Florin 1719, 79.
41 Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg 1998, 17 and no. 45B, fig. 46; Grimm 2010, 69.
42 Schulz 1929, 85.
43 Hertel 2019, 46.
44 Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. Ca 147h/04; see Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden 2021, 134–35. For another comparable example see British Museum, inv. 1920,1216,0.1, discussed in Spee 2010, no. 23.
45 See Leopold's full dedication in the Appendix.
46 Martin 2015. Many of the prints documenting the embassy are reproduced in Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1986; see also Belevitch-Stankevitch 1910, 10–48.
47 Honour 1971, 63; Grimm 2007, 79–80.
48 *Mercure Galant*, February 1700, 194–211; Belevitch-Stankevitch 1910, 172–73.
49 La Loubère 1693, 166.
50 Ides 1707, 154, 158.
51 See Grimm 2000 and Walch 2000.
52 Sillib 1914, 89, 91, 96.
53 Winkler et al. 1996, no. 107.
54 Kopplin and Haase 1998, nos. 16, 17, 19 (ornamental wares), no. 23 (pagod); Bauer et al. 1968, 173.
55 Schulz 1929, 87.
56 Howard 1994, 123; Pinto de Matos 2011, vol. 2, no. 213.
57 Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, inv. Leopold_X 938-6.
58 "Confectschälerlein unterschiedlicher Façon"; Sillib 1914, 89.
59 Favorite Palace, inv. Nr. G 2823 and G 3672; see also *China und Europa* 1973, 232, no. K42.
60 See the elaborate constructions and their internal supports proposed for "Parade- und Figur-Pasteten / welche aber meistens nur zu Zeiten / wann ein grosses Fest und Solennität einfällt / an grosser Herren Höfen / zu dero prächtigen Mahlzeiten können gemacht und aufgetragen werden," in Hagger 1719, unpaginated section before plates and after index to "2. Buch II. Theil."
61 Schulz 1929, 87. It is conceivable that different materials were combined with each other. In the hermitage in the palace gardens of Favorite, for example, Sibylla Augusta had figures of the Holy Family made from wood, wax, and wire frames. Kornmeier 2018, 68.
62 "124 Stückh allerhand und zum Theil fein gestochene hölzerne drachant-Model," Rastatt Palace inventory, 1772, GLA 46/4464, Nr. 4 (Konditoreieinrichtung), unpaginated.
63 GLA, Abt. 56, 4103. On sugar sculpture, see Day 2002 and Bauer et al. 1968, 151–215.
64 Sillib 1914, 99.
65 Cassidy-Geiger 1994; Eberle 2015.
66 For comparative examples, see MMA 1975.268.528; 1995.268.235; 2002.447.61.
67 Kircher 1667, pls. D and E.
68 Schweizer 2021.
69 For examples of Kangxi period porcelain figures of monks or *luohans*, see Sargent 1991, nos. 13, 14. For steatite examples, see Eberle 2015, nos. 92–101.
70 Nieuhof 1666, 167.
71 On the grotesque in relation to the European Chinese-themed images and objects, especially the pagod, see Martin 2022, 18–23.
72 On the Chinese motif of boys at play, see Bartholomew 2002. For the *qilin*, see Ströber 2011, 66–69.
73 Schulz 1929, 87.
74 Deseyve 2009.
75 For examples of Leopold's prints, see note 19 above.
76 Scott 2003, 215.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATION

GLA Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe

Anonymous
1999 "Schatzki, Walter." In *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933*, vol. 1, edited by Werner Röder and Herbert A. Strauss, with Dieter Marc Schneider and Louise Forsyth, 641. Munich: K. G. Saur. First published 1980.

Augustyn, Wolfgang
1997 "Augsburger Buchillustration im 18. Jahrhundert." In *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, edited by Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota, 791–861. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Bartholomew, Terese Tse
2002 "One Hundred Children: From Boys at Play to Icons of Good Fortune." In *Children in Chinese Art*, edited by Ann Barrott Wicks, 57–83. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Bauer, Ingetrud, et al.
1968 *Kunstgeschichte des Backwerks: Geschichte und Entwicklung der Gebäckarten und ihrer Formen*. Edited by Hans Jürgen Hansen. Oldenburg: G. Stalling.

Belevitch-Stankevitch, Hélène
1910 *Le goût chinois en France au temps de Louis XIV*. Paris: J. Schemit.

Bernard, Jean-Frédéric, ed.
1727 *Recueil de voiages au nord: Contenant divers mémoires très utiles au commerce & à la navigation*. Vol. 8. Amsterdam: The Author.

Camille Sourget Librairie sale
2019 *Camille Sourget Librairie: Livres rares* 32. Sale cat., December 5, 2019. Paris: Camille Sourget.

Cassidy-Geiger, Maureen
1994 "Changing Attitudes towards Ethnographic Material: Rediscovering the Soapstone Collection of Augustus the Strong." *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* 48:7–98.

China und Europa
1973 *China und Europa: Chinaverständnis und Chinamode im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Exh. cat., Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin. Berlin: Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten.

Day, Ivan
2002 *Royal Sugar Sculpture: 600 Years of Splendour*. Exh. cat. Barnard Castle, County Durham: Bowes Museum.
Deseyve, Yvette
2009 "Ausschneidebogen." In Eikelmann 2009, 367–69, nos. 129–31.
Eberle, Martin
2015 *Götter aus Stein: Die Sammlung chinesischer Specksteinfiguren auf Schloss Friedenstein Gotha*. Heidelberg: Morio Verlag.
Eikelmann, Renate, ed.
2009 *Die Wittelsbacher und das Reich der Mitte: 400 Jahre China und Bayern*. Exh. cat. Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.
Fischer, Ernst
2012 "Der Sortimentsbuchhandel." In *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Vol. 2, *Die Weimarer Republik, 1918–1933*, part 2, 335–412. Berlin: De Gruyter.
Florin, Franz Philipp
1719 *Oeconomus prudens et legalis continuatus; oder, Grosser Herren Stands und Adelicher Haus-Vatter: Bestehend in fünf Büchern*. Vol. 2. Nuremberg: Christoph Riegel.
Grimm, Ulrike
2000 "'The finest rarities so magnific and so delicately arranged by such a noble hand in a German palace so distant': On the Lacquerwork at the Court of Sibylla Augusta, Margravine of Baden-Baden." In *Japanische und europäische Lackarbeiten: Rezeption, Adaption, Restaurierung / Japanese and European Lacquerware: Adoption, Adaption, Conservation*, edited by Michael Kühlenthal, 237–54. Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege 96. Munich: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege.
2007 "Favorite, a Rare Place Exuding the Spirit of an Age When *Chinoiserie* Reigned Supreme." *In A Taste for the Exotic: Foreign Influences on Eighteenth-Century Silk Designs*, edited by Anna Jolly, 77–90. Riggisberger Berichte 14. Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung.
2008 *Extra schön: Markgräfin Sibylla Augusta und ihre Residenz. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich des 275. Todestages der Markgräfin Sibylla Augusta von Baden-Baden*. Contributions by Saskia Durian-Ress et al. Exh. cat. Rastatt: Schloss Rastatt.
2010 *Favorite: Das Porzellanschloss der Sibylla Augusta von Baden-Baden*. Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
Gugler, Andreas
2002 "Speisen der Augen: Allegorische Schaugerichte bei den Krönungen von Kaiser Karl VI." In *Mahl und Repräsentation: Der Kult ums Essen. Beiträge des internationalen Symposions in Salzburg 29. April bis 1. Mai 1999*, 125–33. 2nd ed. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.
Haemmerle, Albert
1928 *Evangelisches Totenregister zur Kunst- und Handwerksgeschichte Augsburgs*. Augsburg: Buchdruckerwerkstätte Augsburg der SSG.
Hagger, Conrad
1719 *Neues saltzburgisches Koch-Buch für Hochfürstliche und andere vornehme Höfe, Clöster, Herren-Häuser, Hof- und Hauß-Meister, Köch und Einkäuffer: Wie auch für einschichtige, gesund und krancke Persohnen, nicht allein zu Hauß, sondern auch im Feld; mit mehr dann 2500 Speisen [. . .]; bestehend*. 4 vols. Augsburg: Lotter.
Hertel, Christiane
2019 *Siting China in Germany: Eighteenth-Century Chinoiserie and Its Modern Legacy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Honour, Hugh
1971 *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay*. New York: Harper & Row, Icon Editions.
Howard, David S.
1994 *The Choice of the Private Trader: The Private Market in Chinese Export Porcelain Illustrated from the Hodroff Collection*. Exh. cat., Minneapolis Institute of Arts. London: Zwemmer.
Hundt, Michael, ed.
1999 *Beschreibung der dreijährigen chinesischen Reise: Die russische Gesandtschaft von Moskau nach Peking 1692 bis 1695 in den Darstellungen von Eberhard Isbrand Ides und Adam Brand*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 53. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
Ides, Eberhard Isbrand
1707 *Dreyjährige Reise nach China, von Moscau ab zu Lande durch gross Ustiga, Siriania, Permia, Sibirien, Daour, und die grosse Tartarey; gethan durch den moscovitischen Abgesandten Hrn. E. Yßbrandt Ides. Nebst eine landcharte und vielen kupfferstichen / so von dem abgesandten selbst auff der reise auffgezeichnet worden; Wie auch einer beschreibung von China durch einen Chineser in seiner Sprache geschrieben. Alles aus dem Holländischen übersetzet*. . . . Frankfurt am Main: Thomas Fritschen.
Jacq-Hergoualc'h, Michel
1986 *Phra Narai, roi de Siam et Louis XIV: Etudes*. Exh. cat. Paris: Musée de l'Orangerie.
Johns, Christopher M. S.
2016 *China and the Church: Chinoiserie in Global Context*. Oakland: University of California Press.
Kircher, Athanasius
1667 *Athanasii Kircheri e Soc. Jesu, China Monumentis: Quà sacris quà profanis, nec non variis naturae & artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata auspiciis Leopoldi primi, Roman. Imper. semper Augusti, munificentissimi mecaenat*. Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs.
Kisluk-Grosheide, Daniëlle
2002 "The Reign of Magots and Pagods." *MMJ* 37:177–98.
Knauber, Hubert
1975 *Sibylla Augusta und ihr chinesisches Fest*. Schriftenreihe der Museums-Gesellschaft Ettlingen e.V. 1. Ettlingen: Verlag Kern.
Koch, Carl
1939 "Erwerbungen der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek." *Berliner Museen* 60, no. 1, 13–16.
Kopplin, Monika, and Gisela Haase, eds.
1998 *"Sächßisch lacquirte Sachen": Lackkunst in Dresden unter August dem Starken*. Exh. cat. Münster: Museum für Lackkunst.
Kornmeier, Uta
2018 "Theater der Buße: Das Wachsfigurenprogramm der Eremitage." In Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg 2018, 61–75.
Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden
2021 *La Chine: Die China-Sammlung des 18. Jahrhunderts im Dresdner Kupferstich-Kabinett*. Edited by Cordula Bischoff and Petra Kuhlmann-Hodick. Exh. cat., Residenzschloss, Dresden. Dresden: Sandstein Verlag.

La Loubère, Simon de
1691 *Du Royaume de Siam*. 2 vols. Paris: Coignard.
1693 *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam by Monsieur De La Loubere, Envoy Extraordinary from the French King, to the King of Siam, in the Years 1687 and 1688. Wherein a Full and Curious Account Is Given of the Chinese Way of Arithmetick, and Mathematick Learning*. 2 vols. London: F. L. for Tho. Horne, . . . Francis Saunders, . . . and Tho. Bennet. . . .
Lacroix, Emil, Peter Hirschfeld, and Wilhelm Paeseler, eds.
1936 *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Amtsbezirks Ettlingen. Kreis Karlsruhe*. Vol. 9, part 3, of *Die Kunstdenkmäler Badens*. Karlsruhe: C. F. Müller.
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm
1697 *Novissima Sinica, historiam nostri temporis illustratura*. . . . N.p.
Marperger, Paul Jacob
1716 *Paul Jacob Marpergers, Königlich-Polnisch. und Chur-Sächsisch. Hoff- und Commercien-Rahts, wie auch Mitglieds der Königlich-Preußischen Societät der Wissenschafften, Vollständiges Küch- und Keller-Dictionarium: In welchem allerhand Speisen und Getränckе, bekannte und unbekannte . . . beschrieben . . . Allerhand nützliche Haushaltungs- Gesundheits- Lebens- und Policey-Regeln, mit Moralischen Anmerckungen, gegeben . . . und in Summa*. Hamburg: Benjamin Schillers.
Marsch, Angelika
2001 "Die Städtebilder aus dem Verlag von Joseph Friderich und Johann Christian Leopold." In *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas: Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by John Roger Paas, 130–52. Schwäbische Geschichtsquellen und Forschungen 21. Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag.
Martin, Meredith
2015 "Mirror Reflections: Louis XIV, Phra Narai, and the Material Culture of Kingship." *Art History* 38:652–67.
2022 "Once Upon a Time at the Château de Morville: Commerce, Colonialism, and Chinoiserie in the *Ballet des Porcelaines*." In *Reimagining the* Ballet des Porcelaines*: A Tale of Magic, Desire, and Exotic Entanglement*, edited by Meredith Martin, 14–51. London: Harvey Miller.
Menne, Mareike
2018 *Diskurs und Dekor: Die China-Rezeption in Mitteleuropa, 1600–1800*. Bielefeld: Transcript.
Mentzel, Christian
1696 *Kurtze Chinesische Chronologia oder Zeit-Register / Aller chinesischen Käyser*. . . . Berlin: Johann Michael Rüdiger.
Nieuhof, Johan
1666 *Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indischen Geselschaft in den Vereinigten Niederländern an den Tartarischen Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Keiser: Verrichtet durch die Herren Peter de Gojern und Jacob Keisern; darinnen begriffen die aller märkwürdigsten Sachen, welche ihnen auf währender Reise vom 1655. Jahre bis in das 1657. Aufgestoßen*. Amsterdam: Jacob Mörs.
1673 *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperor of China: Delivered by Their Excellencies Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, at His Imperial City of Peking, wherein the Cities, Towns, Villages, Ports, Rivers, &c. in Their Passages from Canton to Peking Are Ingeniously Described by Mr John Nieuhoff, Steward to the Ambassadors, also an Epistle of Father John Adams, Their Antagonist, Concerning the Whole Negotiation: With an Appendix of Several Remarks Taken out of Father Athanasius Kircher: Englished and Set Forth with Their Several Sculptures by John Ogilby*. 2nd ed. London: John Ogilby.
Nolte, Hans Heinrich
1974 "Ides, Eberhard Isbrand." In *Neue deutsche Biographie* 10:119–20. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.
Pinto de Matos, Maria Antónia
2011 *The RA Collection of Chinese Ceramics: A Collector's Vision*. 3 vols. London: Jorge Welsh Books.
Reed, Marcia, ed.
2015 *The Edible Monument: The Art of Food for Festivals*. Exh. cat. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
Renner, Anna Maria
1938 *Sibylla Augusta, Markgräfin von Baden: Die Geschichte eines denkwürdigen Lebens*. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder.
Sargent, William Robert
1991 *The Copeland Collection: Chinese and Japanese Ceramic Figures*. Salem, MA: Peabody Museum of Salem.
Schillinger, Franz Caspar
1707 *Persianische und Ost-Indianische Reis: Welche Frantz Caspar Schillinger, von Ettlingen der Marggrafschafft Baaden, Mit P. Wilhelm Weber, und P. Wilhelm Mayr, aus der Societät Jesu, durch das Türckische Gebiet im Jahr 1699. angefangen, und 1702. vollendet; Darbey ein warhaffter Bericht etlicher Begebenheiten die sich Zeit solcher vierjährigen Reise . . . zugetragen: Neben Beschreibung vieler Orientalischen Völckern; dero Landschafften, Religion . . . Mit beygesetzter Darstellung deren zahmen und wilden Thieren in Indien*. Nuremberg: Johann Christoph Lochners.
Schulz, Georg Wilhelm
1926 "Augsburger Chinesereien und ihre Verwendung in der Keramik. I." *Das Schwäbische Museum: Zeitschrift für Kultur, Kunst und Geschichte Schwabens*, 190–200.
1929 "Augsburger Chinesereien und ihre Verwendung in der Keramik. III." In *Das Schwäbische Museum: Zeitschrift für Kultur, Kunst und Geschichte Schwabens*, 77–88.
Schweizer, Anton
2021 "Puppets for the Margravine: Japanese Ephemera and Their (Re)Construction in Eighteenth-Century Chinoiserie." *21: Inquiries into Art, History, and the Visual* 2, no. 1 (Spring): 3–46. https://doi.org/10.11588/xxi.2021.1.79014.
Scott, Katie
2003 "Playing Games with Otherness: Watteau's Chinese Cabinet at the Château de la Muette." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 66:189–248.
Seiler, Joachim
1989 *Das Augsburger Domkapitel vom Dreißigjährigen Krieg bis zur Säkularisation (1648–1802): Studien zur Geschichte seiner Verfassung und seiner Mitglieder*. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag.
Sillib, Rudolf
1914 *Schloss Favorite und die Eremitagen der Markgräfin Franziska Sibylla Augusta von Baden-Baden*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.
Spamer, Adolf
1930 *Das kleine Andachtsbild vom XIV bis zum XX. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Bruckmann Verlag.
Spee, Clarissa von, ed.
2010 *The Printed Image in China from the 8th to the 21st Centuries*. Exh. cat. London: British Museum.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
1939 *Katalog der Ornamentstichsammlung der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek Berlin*. Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft.

Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg
1998 *Die blau-weißen asiatischen Porzellane in Schloß Favorite bei Rastatt*. Edited by Fritz W. Grosse. Schätze aus unseren Schlössern: Eine Reihe der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg 1. Schwetzingen: K. F. Schimper-Verlag.
2018 *Repräsentation und Rückzug: Die Eremitage von Schloss Favorite Rastatt*. Exh. cat., Schloss Favorite Rastatt. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag.
Stenzel, Rüdiger
1997 *Ettlingen von 1689–1815*. Geschichte der Stadt Ettlingen 3. Ubstadt-Weiher: Verlag Regionalkultur.
Ströber, Eva
2011 *Symbols on Chinese Porcelain: 10,000 Times Happiness*. Stuttgart: Arnoldsche Art Publishers; Leeuwarden: Keramiekmuseum Princessehof.
Suebsman, Daniel
2019 "Chinesisches Porzellan in Deutschland: Seine Rezeptionsgeschichte vom 15 bis ins 18. Jahrhundert." PhD diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wihelms-Universität Bonn. https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5-53806.
Thomas, Greg M.
2009 "Yuanming Yuan/Versailles: Intercultural Interactions between Chinese and European Palace Cultures." *Art History* 32 (February): 115–43.
Trauth, Nina
2009 *Maske und Person: Orientalismus im Porträt des Barock*. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
Ulrichs, Friederike
2009 "Von Nieuhof bis Engelbrecht: Das Bild Chinas in süddeutschen Vorlagenstichen und ihre Verwendung im Kunsthandwerk." In Eikelmann 2009, 292–302.
Vetter, Gerlinde
2019 *Zwischen Glanz und Frömmigkeit: Der Hof der badischen Markgräfin Sibylla Augusta*. Gernsbach: Casimir Katz Verlag.
Walch, Katharina
2000 "Margravine Sibylla Augusta of Baden-Baden's 'Art of Japanning and Varnishing' in Relation to Other Historical Manuals." In *Japanische und europäische Lackarbeiten: Rezeption, Adaption, Restaurierung / Japanese and European Lacquerware: Adoption, Adaption, Conservation*, edited by Michael Kühlenthal, 255–70. Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege 96. Munich: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege.
Walter, Rudolf
1990 *Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer: Hofkapellmeister der Markgrafen von Baden*. Quellen und Studien zur Musikgeschichte von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart 18. Frankfurt am Main and New York: Peter Lang.
Werkstetter, Christine
2009 "'… sie verstunden es nicht genug?' Die China-Mode und das Augsburger Kunsthandwerk." In Eikelmann 2009, 303–13.
Winkler, Hubert Chryspolitus, Ilsebill Barta-Fliedl, Ingrid Haslinger, and Maria-Luise Jesch
1996 *Ehemalige Hofsilber & Tafelkammer: Silber, Bronzen, Porzellan, Glas*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag.
Wöhler, Thomas
2009 "Brokatpapier." In Eikelmann 2009, 374–77, nos. 133–36.
Yonan, Michael E.
2004 "Veneers of Authority: Chinese Lacquers in Maria Theresa's Vienna." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 4 (Summer): 652–72.
Zedler, Johann Heinrich
1740 *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste*. Edited by Carl Günther Ludewig. Vol. 26. Leipzig and Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler.
Zimmer, Mona
2018 "Anna Maria Franziska von Sachsen-Lauenburg: Vierfacher Hand-Schrein unterschiedlich angemerckter Kunst- Speiß- Confitur- und Medicinal-Sachen." In Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg 2018, 178.
Zollner, Hans Leopold
1975 "Aus dem 'Kunst-, Speiß-, Confitur- und Medicinal'-Buch der Markgräfin Sibylla Augusta." *Landkreis Rastatt: Heimatbuch* 2:95–108.
1993 "'Persianische und Ostindianische Reise' um 1700: Erlebnisse und Abenteuer des Ettlinger Barbiers Frantz Caspar Schillinger." *Jahrbuch Landkreis Karlsruhe* 3:267–82.

For the Devotion of Juan Bautista de Echeverría: Piety and Identity in Paintings by Nicolás Enríquez

RONDA KASL

In 1773 Nicolás Enríquez (1704–ca. 1790) made five small paintings on copper for the private devotional use of Juan Bautista de Echeverría (1743–1816), a Basque-Navarrese merchant who lived in Mexico City. The paintings form a collection of personal devotions, which include the owner's name saint, John the Baptist (fig. 1), the Holy Family (fig. 2), and a trio of Marian advocations: the Virgins of El Camino, El Pilar, and Guadalupe (figs. 5, 7, 8). The latter group of paintings, which depict miracle-working cult images, are notable for what they reveal about intersections between the individual practice of belief and the formation of collective identities that were maintained over many years and across vast distances. Echeverría's Virgins, whose respective cults are tied to specific places—Pamplona, Zaragoza, and

Metropolitan Museum Journal, volume 59, 2024. Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with the University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1086/734022. © 2024 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

fig. 1 Nicolás Enríquez (New Spain, present-day Mexico, 1704–ca. 1790). *The Baptism of Christ*, 1773. Oil on copper, 24¼ × 16½ in. (56.5 × 41.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest and several members of The Chairman's Council Gifts, 2014 (2014.171)

fig. 2 Nicolás Enríquez. *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, 1773. Oil on copper, 24¼ × 16½ in. (56.5 × 41.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest and several members of The Chairman's Council Gifts, 2014 (2014.174)

Mexico City—bind their owner, through his devotion to them, to both the land of his birth and the land to which he immigrated as a youth. Drawing on archival evidence of Echeverría's ethnic self-consciousness and personal religiosity, this study contextualizes the paintings he commissioned, situating them within a complex social and cultural dynamic that played out on both sides of the Atlantic. Visual analysis of the paintings is informed by close consideration of a wealth of documentation, including Echeverría's testament, correspondence, and business records, preserved in the private archive of his descendants in the Casa Gastón de Iriarte, in Irurita (Navarre).[1]

JUAN BAUTISTA DE ECHEVERRÍA: A BASQUE MERCHANT IN MEXICO CITY

Juan Bautista de Echeverría was born in 1743 in the village of Irurita in the Baztán Valley of Navarre. In 1756, at the age of thirteen, he set off for New Spain under the sponsorship of his paternal uncle, Gabriel de Echeverría, who was an official of the royal treasury in Mexico City.[2] His precise itinerary is not known, but Echeverría embarked from the Spanish port city of Cadiz, crossed the Atlantic during the winter of 1757, and arrived in Veracruz in early May of that year.[3] He then traveled overland to Mexico City, capital of the viceroyalty of New Spain and the largest urban center in the Americas. Mexico City in the mid-eighteenth century was a thriving global emporium with a diverse, growing population of about 100,000 people.[4] Among the Spaniards in the city, Basques formed a prosperous and influential group from the Lordship of Vizcaya, the provinces of Álava and Guipúzcoa, and the kingdom of Navarre. The urban environment could not have been more different from the ethnically homogeneous rural valley in northern Spain from which Echeverría came and where he would eventually return. In Mexico City, immigrants from the Baztán Valley formed a minority community that was distinct from that of other Spaniards. They hailed from a remote place with a historic sense of autonomy and a distinct cultural identity and language (Basque, or *Euskera*). The collective nobility (*hidalguía universal*) of Baztaneses (and other Basques) further set them apart. Their claim to

fig. 3 Juan Francisco Leonardo (Spanish, 1633–1687). Frontispiece, Juan de Goyeneche, *Executoria de la nobleza, antigüedad y blasones del Valle de Baztán* (Madrid: Antonio Román, 1685). The Hispanic Society Museum & Library, New York

distinctiveness is clearly expressed in the frontispiece illustration of Juan de Goyeneche's *Executoria de la nobleza, antigüedad y blasones del Valle de Baztán* (1685), in which the winged figure of Fame appears in flight above a bird's-eye view of the valley, heralding its nobility and antiquity while displaying its characteristic checkerboard coat of arms (fig. 3). In a lengthy prologue to the royal grant of nobility, Goyeneche asserts that the fourteen villages of the Baztán Valley should be considered one, and their inhabitants as members of a single family, sharing the same noble blood and the same royal privileges. He names the valley's most illustrious natives, among whom he includes missionary Saint Francis Xavier and conquistador Pedro de Ursúa. Further, he alleges that the deeds of Baztaneses in the New World have so distinguished them that God appears to have granted those lands to them to serve as the theater of their valor.[5]

Juan Bautista de Echeverría was in many ways a prototypical Basque-Navarrese "indiano" (from the Indies), and the trajectory of his emigration and return was not exceptional.[6] He was the fourth of six children born under an impartible inheritance system in which males excluded from succession to the family patrimony were compelled to pursue their futures beyond the Baztán Valley, often in Madrid, Cadiz, or Spanish America, typically with the support of far-flung networks of kin who were active in commerce or who held posts in the military or the colonial bureaucracy.[7] In Mexico City, Echeverría's uncle surely facilitated Juan Bautista's entry into the larger Basque community. Crucially, he was assimilated early on into a group of Vizcayan oligarchs whose patronage and influence would be key factors in his future success as a merchant. They exercised their influence not only through direct patronage, but indirectly through the local institutions and organizations they controlled. At the same time, he cultivated a Cadiz-based transatlantic trade network of family and *paisanos*, including his older brother (also named Juan Bautista) and his maternal uncle, Juan José Latadi.[8]

Following an established practice among Spanish immigrants, Echeverría spent more than a decade acquiring skills, forging personal connections, and amassing the capital needed for his establishment as an independent merchant in Mexico City. In 1762, after four years as a merchant's apprentice, he went to work as a shop manager (*cajero*) for Francisco Diez de Sollano and his son-in-law, Juan Antonio de Yermo, landed wholesalers from Vizcaya who supplied the city's meat markets.[9] In 1773, sixteen years after his arrival in New Spain, with the backing of the Yermo family, Echeverría established his own retail operation in the Portal de las Flores, a commercial arcade on the south side of the city's main plaza.[10] In the same year, he entered into a business partnership with Vicente de Bassoco, the nephew of Antonio de Bassoco (1738–1814), who financed the enterprise. The elder Bassoco, who hailed from rural Vizcaya (like the Yermos), was one of the wealthiest merchants in Mexico City and an influential leader of the Basque community.[11] Also in 1773, Echeverría joined 170 other newly recruited associate members of the Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country (Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País). The Bascongada was a transatlantic economic association whose primary concern was to foster the prosperity and general progress of the Basque country.[12]

In 1776–78, Echeverría expanded his activities in the highly profitable realm of transatlantic commerce through his participation in the trade fair at Jalapa, where the sale of imported European goods was concentrated.[13] The trade fleet of 1776–78, a convoy of seventeen ships under the command of Antonio de Ulloa, carried 8,176 tons of registered merchandise. Textiles and clothing predominated, but wares also included paper, ironware, wine, olive oil, and spices.[14] On his return to Mexico City in 1778, Echeverría established a trading house (*casa de comercio*). His warehouse, which must have been well-stocked with goods from

Jalapa, was located on the calle de San Francisco, near the main plaza, where he continued to maintain a shop. Like most such operations it was a mixed shop (*tienda mestiza*) that sold varied merchandise, ranging from food staples to textiles and clothing.[15]

The ethnic solidarity of Basques that stimulated flourishing mercantile networks also motivated the formation of religious confraternities and other lay associations. Its most conspicuous public expression in Mexico City was the confraternity of Our Lady of Aránzazu and the buildings, rituals, and acts of charity it sponsored, not to mention the enterprises it financed.[16] The miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary in a thornbush in the Cantabrian mountains at a site bounded by the three northern Basque provinces of Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa, and Álava was taken to be a sign of their unity as a nation or people. Devotion to Our Lady of Aránzazu was brought to Mexico City by Basque immigrants who founded a brotherhood in 1681 to promote her cult and build a chapel for the purpose. The confraternity, approved by the church in 1696, also attended to the social, cultural, and material needs of the Basque community. Members came not only from the so-called *Vascongadas* (Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa, Álava) but also from the kingdom of Navarre. The majority were merchants and included figures like Antonio de Bassoco and the Yermo brothers, who held important positions on its governing board.[17] Although Juan Bautista de Echeverría maintained close relations with prominent members of the Aránzazu confraternity, he does not appear to have been a member himself.[18]

The seat of the Aránzazu confraternity was the convent of San Francisco. Built between 1682 and 1688, an opulent chapel adjoining the monastic church accommodated the cult of the Virgin of Aránzazu, whose effigy was displayed in the main altarpiece. Although its main purpose was religious observance, the chapel was also a highly visible projection of Basque culture and identity. In addition to the titular Virgin of Aránzazu and paintings of miracles attributed to her, the chapel's decoration incorporated images of Basque *santos paisanos*, including full-length sculptures of three Navarrese bishop saints (Prudencio, Fermín, and Saturnino), as well as Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier, from Guipúzcoa and Navarre, respectively. There were altars dedicated to the latter pair of saints in the chapel's nave, alongside one dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Over the entrance, a painting of the appearance of the Virgin of Aránzazu to the shepherd Rodrigo Balzátegui was paired with one depicting the appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe to Juan de Zumárraga, the Basque Franciscan bishop of Mexico.[19] In this way, the friars and the brothers of Aránzazu adopted the Mexican devotion as their own. The combination of Spanish regional and Mexican devotions in the chapel's decoration is akin to the collection of devotions seen in the paintings commissioned by Juan Bautista de Echeverría from Nicolás Enríquez.

In 1772, after a one-year probationary novitiate, Echeverría professed the vows and took the habit of the Franciscan Third Order. On the feast day of the Immaculate Conception (December 8) he took a public oath to defend the opinion that Mary had been conceived without original sin.[20] The site of Echeverría's oath-taking was the chapel of the Third Order, which was, like the Aránzazu chapel, built in the atrium of the convent complex of San Francisco. Although the Third Order resembled a confraternity in some respects, its institutional status was distinct. Called the "Third Order" to distinguish it from the First and Second Orders of friars and nuns, respectively, of professed Franciscans, it was an organization of lay penitents who pledged to observe a Franciscan way of life.[21] Tertiaries tended to be social elites, and in Mexico City several prominent Basques were members, including Antonio de Bassoco and Juan Antonio de Yermo, who oversaw the reform of the order's Constitution in 1783.[22]

The religious practices of the Third Order, which centered on the imitation of Christ, were publicly expressed through its members' patronage of the *Vía Crucis* (Stations of the Cross), a Lenten procession in which the stages of Christ's Passion were reenacted in a sequence of fourteen chapels, starting in the convent of San Francisco and culminating in a Calvary chapel beyond the western edge of Alameda Park. Tertiaries also participated in festivities devoted to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.[23] Echeverría's devotion to the mystery is expressed in his testament, which endows chaplaincies with masses on the feast day of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception in the parish churches of Irurita and Elizondo (in the Baztán Valley), stipulating that they should be "celebrated with the greatest possible solemnity, because this is my greatest affection and devotion."[24] Consistent with his adherence to the Franciscan model, his testament also instructs his executors (the Yermo brothers) to find a location in the missionary college of San Fernando for his entombment and to celebrate it with a funeral that avoided the "fruitless expense of pompous display."[25]

For Echeverría, a merchant and a secular Franciscan "living in the world" of Mexico City, not in an enclosed community, the years 1772 and 1773 stand out as pivotal

ones for the consolidation of his status within the Basque community, with whom he shared economic ambitions as well as spiritual aspirations. He was a charter member of the Bascongada, a recently professed brother of the Franciscan Third Order, and the newly independent proprietor of a retail shop in a prime location on the city's main plaza. Finally, by 1773, he had acquired the economic means to commission not just one but five paintings on copper by a leading artist, Nicolás Enríquez, who was a prolific specialist in the technique, which is characterized by its refined luminosity. The small, portable paintings were intended for use as private devotional aids, but they were also costly luxury items whose possession mimicked the behavior of wealthier elites and insinuated an affiliation with them.[26] In addition, and in a literal sense, the paintings served as markers of identity. All five works name Echeverría in inscriptions that declare their ownership and purpose: *for the devotion of Juan Baptista Echeverria*.[27] One painting depicts Echeverría's name saint, John the Baptist, another includes his portrait among the converts who adore the Virgin of El Pilar, and yet another includes the checkerboard coat of arms he was entitled to display as a Basque *hidalgo*, born in the Baztán Valley.

TORNAVIAJE: THE RETURN VOYAGE

Echeverría may have begun to contemplate returning to the Baztán Valley soon after his successful foray into transatlantic trade at the Jalapa fair in 1777–78. His decision was likely hastened by the free trade (*comercio libre*) decree of 1778, which abolished the fleet system that restricted commercial exchange between the Peninsula and New Spain to the ports of Cadiz and Veracruz. The monopoly had benefited Mexico City merchants who had access to investment capital and could control the supply and distribution of warehoused merchandise. The liberalization of trade resulted in an oversupplied market and reduced profits, which led many Mexico City merchants to abandon commerce. Some, like Antonio de Bassoco and the Yermo brothers, increasingly depended on agriculture, ranching, and mining.[28] Others, like Echeverría, opted to return to Spain. An already difficult situation was further complicated by Spain's latest war with England (1779–83), which paralyzed transatlantic shipping and made it all but impossible for Echeverría to return until after it ended. The war may have motivated Echeverría's enlistment as a soldier in Mexico City's Commerce Regiment in 1782. All of the city's merchants were obliged to serve, although most sent paid substitutes (*alquilones*). The militia was mainly tasked with maintaining security in the city in the event its regular troops were needed elsewhere, as had happened in 1762, when they were sent to defend Veracruz after the English invasion of Havana.[29]

In late October 1784, Echeverría informed his father of his intention to return to Irurita, with an anticipated departure from Veracruz in January or February of 1785.[30] He began the process of settling debts and liquidating assets in Mexico City. As was customary in advance of transatlantic voyages, he prepared his testament, naming executors, heirs, and beneficiaries. His designated executors were the brothers Juan Antonio and Gabriel Joaquín de Yermo, with whom he had been linked since his earliest days in Mexico City. Other provisions of the testament illuminate his religious commitments and devotional practices, some of which align with devotions represented in the paintings by Nicolás Enríquez. He provided funds for the endowment of two chaplaincies, one in the parish church of Irurita and the other in nearby Elizondo, where Masses were to be celebrated for his soul on feast days that correspond with four of the devotions represented in his paintings: Saint Joseph (March 19), Saint John the Baptist (June 24), Our Lady of El Pilar (October 12), and Our Lady of Guadalupe (December 12).[31] The Virgins of El Pilar and Guadalupe had the unusual distinction of being canonized images with feast days and divine offices.

Echeverría's departure was delayed until early March, when he embarked with three companions for Havana, where he transferred to a mail frigate bound for Spain. To ensure divine protection during the Atlantic crossing, he previously commissioned three novenas, dedicated to the Navarrese missionary Saint Francis Xavier, the Virgin of El Pilar, and Saint Michael.[32] After a month and a half at sea, he disembarked in the northwestern Spanish port city of Vigo, and then continued to Irurita, arriving there in mid-June 1785, twenty-nine years after he had left it as a youth of thirteen.[33] He returned to his birthplace in possession of a substantial fortune, and with four pieces of luggage filled with belongings: two trunks (*baules*) with clothing and papers, a small crate (*cajoncito*) with paintings on copper, a small chest (*cofrecito*) of chocolate, and a trunk-bed (*maletón con colchón y catre*).[34]

The transport document that describes Echeverría's belongings does not list an embroidered bedcover (*colcha*) that he probably also brought with him (fig. 4). The *colcha* features a densely embroidered field of floral and animal motifs with a central medallion containing female personifications of the four parts of the world encircled by an inscription that declares: "I serve don

fig. 4 Bedcover. New Spain, present-day Mexico, ca. 1770–80. Cotton with wool embroidery, 81½ × 56⅜ in. (207 × 143.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest and several members of The Chairman's Council Gifts, 2014 (2014.176)

Juan Bautista de Echeverria y Latadyz." Mexican *colchas* were coveted by Europeans and are usually associated with the material culture of women.[35] This example, however, is thematically well-suited to the worldly affairs of the male merchant who owned it. The inclusion of pairs of soldiers at the top and bottom of the *colcha* is likely to have resonated with Echeverría, who served in Mexico City's merchant militia. The subject of the four parts of the world, copied from a Flemish print, serves as a reminder that residents of Mexico City were acutely conscious of their advantageous position at the center of converging trade networks that connected every part of the globe.[36]

The belongings Echeverría brought with him from New Spain materialized those networks and connections in tangible things that were not only prized and displayed but also used and consumed. Their American origin would have been noticeable in any case, but the way in which the paintings are signed insists on it: *Nicolaus Enríquez, Fac^t. Mexici A^o. 1773* (Nicolás Enríquez made it in Mexico in the year 1773).[37] It is important to recognize, however, that they were not merely remembrances of Mexico, but rather highly personal, and personalized, objects of devotion. This aspect is especially notable in the three paintings that pertain to Marian image cults, as is apparent when their anomalies are recognized and analyzed in the context of Echeverría's transatlantic life.

OUR LADY OF EL CAMINO

The Virgin of El Camino is venerated in the parish church of San Saturnino in Pamplona, the principal city of Juan Bautista de Echeverría's native Navarre (fig. 5). According to legend, the image miraculously appeared on a roof beam above the main altar of the church in 1487, having transported itself from a derelict hermitage near Alfaro (La Rioja). The *riojanos* reclaimed the image and restored it to its former location, but the Virgin promptly "flew" back to her perch in Pamplona. This was taken as an unmistakable sign of the Virgin's favor—she had chosen a church in the heart of Pamplona, with its large and devout population, over a solitary shrine on the outskirts of Alfaro.[38] The growth of popular devotion to the image, which was initially enshrined on the roof beam where it was discovered, was accommodated by moving it to a side altar in an existing chapel, which was subsequently converted into a closed *camarín* for the safekeeping of the image and its growing treasury of precious ornaments, many of them sent from America. The inadequacy of the *camarín* motivated the decision in 1756 to build a new chapel, which began construction in 1758 and was inaugurated in 1776.[39] The ambitious project was financed through a variety of means, including alms, bequests, special collections, subscriptions, bullfights, and the sale and raffle of precious ornaments and jewels given by devotees of the Virgin.[40] Donors living outside Pamplona, including in Spanish America, were receptive to both pious and patriotic appeals from the church.[41]

Unlike some other peninsular devotions, such as the Virgins of El Pilar and Aránzazu, the Virgin of El Camino never became the focus of collective veneration outside Spain. Instead, her absent devotees maintained and enriched her cult from a distance with lavish gifts. Juan de Villafañe's 1726 compendium of Marian advocations relates the miracle story of gold crowns for the Virgin and Child sent from America by a "devoto

fig. 5 Nicolás Enríquez. *Our Lady of El Camino with Saint Fermín and Saint Saturnino*, 1773. Oil on copper, 24¼ × 16½ in. (56.5 × 41.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest and several members of The Chairman's Council Gifts, 2014 (2014.172)

indiano." According to legend, the crowns were lost en route to Spain in a violent storm at sea but washed ashore on the Cantabrian coast, where they were discovered by locals who, guided by a divine hand, delivered them to their intended destination.[42] Actual gifts from devout Navarrese in America were numerous and include the silver moon at the Virgin's feet, given by Juan de Cenoz, the royal treasurer in Yucatán.[43] Other documented gifts came from José Ambrosio de Lasaga, who sent funds and church ornaments from Lima in 1694.[44] In 1698, members of the Améscua family sent silver ornaments for the Virgin's cult from Mexico.[45] In 1724–25, José de Azlor and Ignacia de Echeverz, the marqueses de San Miguel de Aguayo, proprietors of silver-mining haciendas in Zacatecas, sent funds for a silver altar frontal.[46] Felipe de Yriarte, a merchant based in Mexico City, sent precious metalwork and contributed alms toward the construction of the chapel. In 1768, Yriarte, whose wealth derived from transpacific trade, also sent a pair of large porcelain jars from China.[47]

fig. 6 Juan de la Cruz (Spanish, 1695–1777). *Our Lady of El Camino with Saint Fermín and Saint Saturnino*, 1721. Engraving. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Calcografía Nacional, Madrid (AC-00834)

Enríquez's painting of the Virgin of El Camino for Echeverría predates the inauguration of the chapel in August 1776, when the sacred image was enthroned in a resplendent new altarpiece (fig. 5).[48] Although the work belongs to the genre of "statue paintings," that is, painted simulacra of cult images, it does not reproduce the appearance of the altar. Instead, the composition derives from a print, which must have been provided to Nicolás Enríquez by Echeverría (fig. 6). The engraving, by Juan de la Cruz (1695–1777), was first published in 1721 and reissued numerous times during the eighteenth century. Printed on both paper and silk taffeta, the engravings were intended for use as devotional aids and typically would have been acquired in connection with visits to the church. During the 1760s, when the new chapel of the Virgin of El Camino was under construction, prints were routinely sent to Spanish America with letters soliciting contributions in support of the project.[49] Enríquez's use of the print as a model suggests that Echeverría was among those who received solicitations or were rewarded with prints for their donations.

In both the painting and the print, a pair of angels pull back the curtains of a shrine to reveal the dressed image of Our Lady of El Camino, balanced on a silver pedestal with a silver moon beneath her feet. The Virgin and Child are clothed in floral-patterned red garments adorned with pearls, ribbons, and votive jewelry. They both wear imperial crowns and the Virgin's face is embellished by the *rostrillo* that encircles it. The bestowal of the Virgin's golden crown by a pair of angels recalls the legend of the ones sent from America, lost at sea, and miraculously restored to the image. Two angel-torchères with lighted candles flank the sacred image and may reference the appearance of an earlier altar.[50] Below them are bust-length figures of Saint Saturnino and his disciple, Saint Fermín, bishop martyrs who are venerated as patrons of Pamplona. Between the two saints is the coat of arms of Navarre and Pamplona, which is augmented in the painting by the superimposed checkerboard device of the Baztán Valley, Echeverría's birthplace. Its inclusion is the only significant compositional difference between the print and the painting. The heraldic device of a half-moon and star on the curtains belongs to the Pamplona *borgo* (borough) of San Cernin (Saturnino), where the parish church is located.

OUR LADY OF EL PILAR

The Virgin of El Pilar, recognized as patron of Aragón in 1678 and canonized in 1723, was widely venerated in the Spanish world during the colonial period. Unlike Pamplona's Virgin of El Camino, which was not well known outside Navarre, devotion to the Zaragoza Virgin reflected a broader peninsular patriotism.[51] In Mexico City, sites of devotion to the Virgin of El Pilar included the church of San Francisco, where the cult was well-established by the end of the seventeenth century,[52] and the convent-college for women known as "La Enseñanza," founded in 1754 by María Ignacia de Azlor (1715–1767), who descended from a wealthy creole family of Navarrese and Aragonese origin (the marqueses of San Miguel de Aguayo). In the case of La Enseñanza, the titular image of Virgin of El Pilar is a Hispano-Philippine copy in ivory, called "La Patrona," said to have been touched to the original in Zaragoza by the founder's mother.[53] The convent church, dedicated to the Virgin of El Pilar, was under construction between 1772 and 1778.[54]

In the painting by Enríquez (fig. 7) the Virgin Mary appears to Saint James and his followers outside the city walls of Zaragoza.[55] According to tradition, the image, which appeared on top of a stone pillar, was brought from Jerusalem by angels to encourage the saint in his

fig. 7 Nicolás Enríquez. *The Apparition of the Virgin of El Pilar to Saint James*, 1773. Oil on copper, 24¼ × 16½ in. (56.5 × 41.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest and several members of The Chairman's Council Gifts, 2014 (2014.175)

evangelization of the Roman province of Hispania. Saint James is accompanied by seven disciples, known as the seven converts of Zaragoza. Among them, Enríquez has included what may be a portrait of Juan Bautista de Echeverría, whose individualized features are unlike those of the other converts. Kneeling among the trio of converts to the right of the Virgin, he is conspicuously robed in a brown garment that recalls the habit Echeverría was entitled to wear as a Franciscan tertiary. Such a reading is consistent with what is known about Echeverría's personal religiosity and his devotion to the Virgin of El Pilar, whose protection he sought during his return voyage to Spain.[56] Moreover, the painting's thematic emphasis on evangelization places it squarely in the context of Echeverría's ties to the Apostolic College of San Fernando, elected as the site of his burial, and the missionary aims of the Franciscan order. The college was dependent on the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, known as the Propaganda Fide, and the friars trained

there were linked to missions of evangelization that not only targeted so-called neophytes on the northern frontier of the viceroyalty, but also ministered to urban populations, devout and otherwise.[57]

In addition to the apparent inclusion of the painting's owner among the converts of Zaragoza, the comparably anomalous presence of a woman begs an explanation. It is too generalized to be a portrait, but the kneeling woman who raises her eyes and outstretched hands in recognition of the appearance of the holy image calls to mind María Ignacia de Azlor's devotion to the Virgin of El Pilar and her promotion of the advocation in Mexico. In 1745, when María Ignacia took the habit of the Company of Mary in Tudela (Navarre), she recorded her gratitude for the benefits received from the Virgin of El Pilar and stated her desire to promote her cult "in those kingdoms where Our Lady is little known by this title."[58] On the feast day of the Virgin of El Pilar in 1752, María Ignacia and eleven companions, eight of whom were from Navarre, departed from Tudela on their way to establish the first convent of the teaching order in New Spain.[59] The date of Echeverría's painting of the Virgin of El Pilar coincides with the period during which the existing church of La Enseñanza commenced construction, mirroring the circumstances under which the Virgin of El Camino was painted.[60] It is not known whether Echeverría contributed to the project, but his backer and business partner, Antonio de Bassoco, was a major benefactor of both the church and the associated college.[61]

OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE

Echeverría arrived in Mexico City in 1757 and would have been present for the festivities in December that commemorated the recent papal recognition of the Virgin of Guadalupe as patron of the city and the viceroyalty. Benedict XIV's bull of 1754 (published in Mexico in 1756) affirmed a local proclamation, made in 1737, and marked the culmination of a decades-long campaign by creole devotees. Recognition of the legitimacy of the image spurred even greater devotion to it and encouraged an unprecedented proliferation of copies.[62] Even if anecdotal claims that no church or household was without a *guadalupana* were exaggerated, they nonetheless acknowledge the enormous popularity of the devotion and the ubiquitous presence of copies.[63]

The efficacy of such copies depended on their exact replication of the original, and, not surprisingly, there is little variation among the many extant versions other than size and differences in the narrative and symbolic elements that sometimes accompany the central image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. In Enríquez's painting for Echeverría (fig. 8), the origin story of the image is corroborated by vignettes in the four corners of the composition that recount the legend of the Virgin Mary's four apparitions to Juan Diego, an Indigenous man. The narrative sequence commences at the upper right with the first of Juan Diego's three encounters with the Virgin Mary on Tepeyac Hill near Mexico City, an event believed to have taken place in 1531. The sequence of scenes proceeds counterclockwise and culminates at the lower right with the fourth appearance, in which the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, miraculously imprinted on Juan Diego's cloak (*tilma*), is revealed to the friar-bishop Juan de Zumárraga.[64] Basques were predisposed to credit their compatriot Zumárraga with the origin of the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe and had a particularly intense devotion to it. This outlook is reflected in the Aránzazu chapel in Mexico City, where Andrés de Islas painted five canvases for an altarpiece dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe, which included scenes of the apparitions.[65] Now in the Figge Art Museum in Davenport, Iowa, a painting by Islas of the fourth apparition, dated 1773, in which the Virgin's image is revealed to Zumárraga, may have come from the no longer extant altarpiece.[66]

Like the cult of the Virgin of El Pilar, that of the Virgin of Guadalupe was transatlantic in its reach. Long before the end of the seventeenth century, it was not uncommon for immigrants from Spain and their creole descendants to adopt the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe or to promote it, often on both sides of the Atlantic. Increasing numbers of copies were exported to Spain, where individuals presented them to the churches in which they were baptized, bequeathed them to descendants, displayed them in private oratories, and bestowed them as gifts. Some painters, most notably Antonio de Torres (1667–1731), specialized in copies for export to Spain.[67] The presence of paintings of the Virgin of Guadalupe in regions directly linked to Mexico through commerce or state bureaucracies is so prevalent that their existence in other parts of Spain is easily overlooked.[68] They are most numerous in Andalusia, but *guadalupanas* were also sent to Navarre.[69] One of the earliest to arrive there, and the one with the most important cult, first celebrated in 1690, was located in the Jesuit College of Pamplona. It was the gift of Agustín de Echevers y Subiza (1640–1699), the First Marqués of San Miguel de Aguayo.[70] Members of this family, who played an important part in promoting devotion to the Virgin of El Pilar in New Spain, had a comparable role in propagating the

Tocada â su Maravilloso Original, el dia dos de Julio de 1789.
Por devocion de Dn. Juan Baptista Eche-
uerria.
Nicolaus Enriquez Fac.t Mexicî Aº. 1773.

fig. 8 Nicolás Enríquez. *The Virgin of Guadalupe with the Four Apparitions*, 1773. Oil on copper, 24¼ × 16½ in. (56.5 × 41.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Louis V. Bell, Harris Brisbane Dick, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest and several members of The Chairman's Council Gifts, 2014 (2014.173)

Guadalupan cult in Navarre. María Ignacia de Azlor, granddaughter of the first marqués, professed singular devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe for "having been born in the Indies under her protection."[71] In 1734, she gave two paintings of the Virgin of Guadalupe, including one by Antonio de Torres, to the convent of the Company of Mary in Tudela, where she took her vows before returning to Mexico and founding the convent of La Enseñanza.[72]

The Virgin of Guadalupe is an acheiropoetic image, that is, one "not made by human hands." It is a relic of physical contact with the divine: the visible impression made on Juan Diego's *tilma* by the flowers he gathered on Tepeyac Hill as proof of the Virgin Mary's appearance. Echoing a practice used with other classes of relics, physical contact with the original image of the Virgin of Guadalupe could transfer its power to painted copies, prints, and objects such as medals and rosaries.[73] The image, which had been protected by a vitrine since 1667,[74] was regularly opened so that paintings and other items could be placed in contact with it. In 1753, when it was opened for inspection by the painter Miguel Cabrera, it seemed to him that on that single occasion more than five hundred images were touched to the painting.[75]

An inscription added to Juan Bautista de Echeverría's painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe (fig. 9) attests that it was "touched to its miraculous original on July 2, 1785," five months after he departed New Spain on his return journey to the Baztán Valley.[76] For reasons unknown, Echeverría was not able to accomplish the task before his departure and left the painting behind with instructions to touch it to the original and then send or deliver it to him in Irurita. The measures taken on Echeverría's behalf can be reconstructed in some detail on the basis of letters from his friends and associates. The frequency of their updates suggests that Echeverría sought reassurances in his own letters (which are not preserved). The earliest report, which turned out to be unreliable, was provided by Martin Miguel de Echeverría in a letter dated September 2, 1785. Written in Cadiz upon his arrival from New Spain, the letter is mainly concerned with the unresolved liquidation of Juan Bautista's business in Mexico City and the "deplorable" state of commerce in Veracruz. In the final paragraph, Martin Miguel provides an update on the status of Echeverría's Virgin of Guadalupe. The painting had been touched to the original on July 2, but Martin Miguel, who had already embarked for Spain by that date, was unaware of it. The task appears to have been entrusted to their mutual friend, Joaquín de Ybarlucea, whose report Martin Miguel cites: "your painting on copper, with two others that belong to you and don Fermin [de Elizalde], remains there because of the inability to touch it to the Original, and he says that once it is verified, it will come at the first opportunity."[77] One of the other paintings cited in the letter, which belonged to the Cadiz-based merchant Fermin de Elizalde, was likewise an image on copper of the Virgin of Guadalupe. A separate letter reveals that Echeverría had been an agent or intermediary between Elizalde and Matias de Mendiburu in commissioning it from an unnamed artist in Mexico City at a cost of 220 pesos (including its frame).[78]

On February 10, 1786, Martin Miguel wrote to Juan Bautista from Cadiz to inform him that "I have in my possession the Image of Our Lady of Guadalupe that came for you on the frigate *Triunfante*, which just arrived from Veracruz. If a good opportunity is provided, I will send it to you, and if not, it will go when I do."[79] Two weeks later, he shared his worry that there would be no chance to send the painting prior to taking it himself sometime after Lent.[80] On the same day, Fermin de Elizalde wrote to Juan Bautista that he had seen the painting in the possession of Martin Miguel, who wished to deliver it himself. Elizalde was somewhat skeptical of the plan, passing on his concern that it was just talk.[81] On March 17, Martin Miguel followed up: "Your Guadalupana on copper (touched to the

Tocada á su Maravilloso Original, el dia dos de Julio de 1785.
Por devocion de Dn. Juan Baptista Eche
uerria.
Nicolaus Enriquez Fact. Mexici Ao. 1773.

fig. 9 Detail of Nicolás Enríquez, *The Virgin of Guadalupe with the Four Apparitions* (fig. 8)

Original) will go with me, since no good opportunity will present itself before then."[82] On April 21, after Easter, Martin Miguel announced: "Our departure for that Noble Valley will be on the 25th of the present month."[83] No mention is made of Juan Bautista's painting, but Martin Miguel must have taken it with him as he had repeatedly promised to do.

There is nothing remarkable about the fact that Echeverría sought to have his painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe touched to the original, but the timing and the effort it required are revealing. It raises the question of why he waited twelve years to touch the painting, made in 1773, to the original, only pursuing it after he decided to return to Spain. The timing suggests a responsible settling of pious affairs akin to other preparations for departure, like paying off debts and drafting a testament. Touching the painting to the original made it a relic of the Virgin of Guadalupe, not just a depiction of it. By taking care to touch the painting to the original before taking it to Spain, Echeverría ensured that its holiness and power could also be transferred to a distant place and a different context. In a similar case, a painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe by Enríquez that belonged to Francisco Leandro de Viana was touched to the original in 1777, the year its owner left New Spain to assume the post of minister on the Council of the Indies in Madrid. In 1780, he gave the painting to the parish church in his native Lagrán (Álava), where it was incorporated into an altarpiece dedicated to the Purísima, that is, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.[84]

Echeverría's paintings of Marian cult images—the Virgins of El Camino, El Pilar, and Guadalupe—materialize attitudes toward place, displacement, and distance that are grounded in the individual and collective experience of migration. They can be observed in the adoption of and identification with devotions linked to sacred images as well as holy places and local practices of belief. Their origin stories of divine favor are also narratives of *paisanaje*, that is, of shared identity grounded in geographic origin and kinship. Echeverría's paintings not only illuminate deeply rooted connections between religiosity and regionalism, but also are embedded in diverse strategies of cultural preservation and social integration. Echeverría's religiosity and identity are bound together by images that participate in the maintenance of long-distance ties and the creation of proximate ones, a dynamic that is both complicated and enriched by the mobility of people and things in the Spanish world.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the support of numerous people, including Pilar Pinto and José Presedo, who facilitated access to archives in Navarre and graciously shared their time and local knowledge. It is a great pleasure to recognize the generosity of María Asunción Castellano, who granted access to the Archivo Casa Gastón de Iriarte in Irurita. I am also indebted to Teresa Alzugaray, who supported my research in the Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona. I also thank Ricardo Fernández Gracia, Isabel Iturria, José and Javier Macicior, and María Dolores Miñana, who gave freely of their time, expertise, and resources. In Mexico, I thank Elena Sánchez Cortina, Cristina Torales Pacheco, and Héctor Trejo for their kind attention to my inquiries.

RONDA KASL

Curator of Latin American Art, The American Wing, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NOTES

1 Archivo Casa Gastón de Iriarte in Irurita (hereafter abbreviated as ACGI).
2 Testament of Gabriel de Echeverría (copy), March 15, 1766, ACGI; cited by Amores Carredano and Castellano de Gastón 2014, 46, 54–55.
3 The New Spain fleet departed from Cadiz on February 11, 1757, and arrived in Veracruz on May 2. For much of the eighteenth century (1717–78) transit between Spain and Mexico was restricted to the ports of Cadiz and Veracruz.
4 Báez Macías 1966 and 1967; Seed 1982.
5 Goyeneche 1685, unpaginated introduction.
6 Recent studies of the presence of art from the Americas in Spain, often in connection with the return of Spanish immigrants, include Quiles García, Amador Marrero, and Fernández 2020; López Guzmán 2021; and Alcalá and Navarrete Prieto 2023.
7 On the Basque diaspora, see Zaballa Beascoechea 1996; Totoricaguena 2004; Lamikiz 2017; and Lanzagorta Diego 2021.
8 Amores Carredano and Castellano de Gastón 2014, 55.
9 Ibid., 55–57. On the Yermos, see Huerta 1983 and Valle Pavón 2014, 525–28.
10 Contrato de Depósito Irregular, April 21, 1773, ACGI: Loan of 100,000 pesos for a term of four years to Juan Bautista de Echeverría from the Congregation of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Juan Antonio de Yermo and his brother, Gabriel Joaquín de Yermo, were guarantors. Amores Carredano and Castellano de Gastón 2014, 68–69. On the Congregation of Our Lady of Guadalupe, see Mariluz Urquijo 1983.
11 Brading 1971, 124–28; Torales Pacheco 2001, 168–73; Lanzagorta Diego 2021, 49–50.
12 Patent of membership, Socio Benemérito, Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del Pays, Mexico City, July 31, 1773, ACGI. Cited by Amores Carredano and Castellano de Gastón 2014, 66–67. On the Real Sociedad Bascongada in New Spain, see Torales Pacheco 2001.
13 Real Díaz 1959; Borchart de Moreno 1984, 95–107.
14 Solano 1979, xxiii–xxx.
15 On "mixed shops," see Kicza 1983, 110–11.
16 The extensive literature on the confraternity includes García-Ayluardo 1994; Luque Alcaide 1995; Zaballa Beascoechea 2010; and Luque Alcaide 2014.
17 Bassoco served as treasurer (1775–76, 1778) and rector (1780–81); Juan Antonio de Yermo was treasurer (1773–74) and rector (1790–91). Luque Alcaide 1995, 106, 126, 161, 198, 205, 302, 342; Valle Pavón 2014, 525–29.
18 The name Juan Bautista de Echeverría is recorded in the account book of the Aránzazu confraternity in 1764, but the entry apparently refers to a different person with the same name. He is Bachiller Juan Bautista de Echeverría (d. 1782), a priest who was also a donor to the Colegio de San Ignacio, popularly known as "las Vizcaínas." "Libro de asiento de los cofrades de Nuestra Sra. De Aránzazu desde 16 de agosto de 1696 hasta 19 de agosto de 1822," fols. 81, 83 (entry for April 19, 1764), Archivo Histórico, Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola Vizcaínas. See Olavarría y Ferrari 1889, 158, and Luque Alcaide 1995, 101. I am grateful to Elena Sánchez Cortina, Coordinadora del Acervo Cultural Vizcaínas, for sharing this information and to María Cristina Torales Pacheco for her help in correctly interpreting the documentation.
19 For a description of the interior of the no longer extant chapel, see Luque Alcaide 1995, 73–75. On Basque identity and adherence to local devotions, see Aramburu Zudaire 2004, 32, and Zaballa Beascoechea 2010.
20 Amores Carredano and Castellano de Gastón 2014, 56, 63–64.
21 Iguíniz 1951, 11; Melvin 2012, 145.
22 Iguíniz 1951, 50, 123; *Libro de las constituciones* 1796.
23 Robin 2014; Melvin 2012, 143, 210.
24 Testament of Juan Bautista de Echeverría, Mexico City, January 15, 1785, ACGI.
25 Ibid.: "moderando toda Pompa cuyos infructuosos gastos se reduzgan a veneficio Espiritual."
26 Bargellini 1999, 41; Katzew 2017b; Hyman 2021, 190–91.
27 Two of the paintings (*Baptism* and *Virgin of Guadalupe*) are inscribed: *Por devoción de D^n^. Juan Baptista Echeverria*. Three (*Holy Family, Virgin of El Camino*, and *Virgin of El Pilar*) are inscribed: *Para D^n^. Juan Baptista Echeverria*.
28 Brading 1971, 115–19, 126–28.
29 Enlistment of Juan Bautista de Echeverría in the Regimento de Infantería del Comercio de Mexico, Mexico City, March 2, 1782, ACGI. San Vicente (1768) 1990, 170–71; Borchart de Moreno 1984, 42–45.
30 Juan Bautista de Echeverría to Juan Tomás Echeverría, Mexico City, October 27, 1784, ACGI. Cited by Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo 2011, 197.
31 Testament of Juan Bautista de Echeverría, January 15, 1785, ACGI.
32 Juan Bautista de Echeverría to Juan Tomás Echeverría, Mexico City, October 27, 1784, ACGI; cited by Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo 2011, 197.
33 Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo 2011, 198–99; Amores Carredano and Castellano de Gastón 2014, 91–92.
34 The items are described in a transport document: "Guia para dentro de Navarra para Don Juan Baptista Echeverria, Lesaca," June 16, 1785, ACGI. On his return to Spain, Echeverría had capital amounting to 60,000 *pesos fuertes* at his disposal. See Castellano de Gastón 2006, 206.
35 In his 1778 account of Mexico City, Antonio de Ulloa, commander of the last Indies fleet, lists embroidered *colchas* among the kinds of textiles produced there, noting that they were mostly made outside the city itself. Upon his return to Spain, he described the impression made on his wife by a *colcha* given to him by the viceroy, Antonio María Bucarelli: "The bedcover is up to the standard of all those ladies who frequently see it. She is only sorry not to have a very large house to hang it in and show it off." ("La colcha ha pasado muestra de cuantas señoras la ven con frequencia. Sólo siente no tener una casa muy grande para colgarla y que tenga lucimiento.") Solano 1979, 114, 371.
36 See Balbuena 1990 and Gruzinski 2010, 50–51.
37 On artist signatures in New Spain, see Bargellini 2006. For signatures that reference Mexico as the place of origin, see Alcalá et al. 2017, 17, 22.
38 The earliest published account of the miraculous appearance of the Virgin of El Camino is included in Berdún y Guendulain 1693, 434–506. A brief description is collected in Villafañe 1726, 143–45.
39 Molins Mugueta and Fernández Gracia 1987.
40 Ibid., 73–76; Echeverría Goñi 1991, 162–63; Fernández Gracia 2005, 163–64.
41 "Cartas, copias y originales en que la Obrería pide limosnas a personas que viven fuera de Pamplona," Archivo Parroquial de San Saturnino de Pamplona, leg. Núm. 509. Cited by Molins Mugueta and Fernández Gracia 1987, 114.
42 Villafañe 1726, 145.

43 Molins Mugueta and Fernández Gracia 1987, 99. An inscribed date has been read as 1675, but is more likely to be 1625, the year in which Cenoz was appointed to the post of treasurer. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Contratación, 5788, L.2, F. 314–315v (January 30, 1625).

44 Echeverría Goñi 1991, 191; Heredia Moreno 2010, 473.

45 Miguel Améscua, alcalde mayor of Guadalajara, and his brothers, Juan and Martin, donated a silver chalice, paten, collection plate, cruets, and candlesticks. Heredia Moreno 1980, 567–68, 570, no. 5, figs. 5–7; Heredia Moreno 2010, 468.

46 Proceedings brought by the parish chapter of San Saturnino against Francisco Ignacio de Eraso, administrator of the marqueses de San Miguel de Aguayo, concerning his failure to release funds for the altar frontal, including copies of letters from the marqueses to their previous administrator, Juan de Salaberria (March 24, 1724, and December 12, 1725), Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona, Tribunal Episcopal, Procesos, C-2.076, no. 1. The frontal was not made until the mid-1750s. See Molins Mugueta and Fernández Gracia 1987, 103.

47 Letter (copy), Felipe de Yriarte, May 3, 1768; Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona, Parroquias, Caja 2717, no. 2, fol. 5r–v. Torales Pacheco 2017, 28–29. See also Molins Mugueta and Fernández Gracia 1987, 104.

48 Molins Mugueta and Fernández Gracia 1987, 83–92.

49 Ibid., 76; Fernández Gracia 1996, 190–92, 196–97; Fernández Gracia 2005, 163–64. For an example printed on yellow taffeta, preserved in a private collection in Pamplona, see Fernández Gracia 2011, 102–3, and Andueza Unanua 2011, 108–9. A late eighteenth-century indulgence print produced from the recut plate is preserved in the ACGI, Irurita.

50 A similar pair of angel-torchères are included in a trompe l'oeil painting of the Virgin of El Camino on an altar, dated 1675 (Dominicas de la Enseñanza, Pamplona). Fernández Gracia 2023.

51 Brading 2001, 3, 37–40.

52 Taylor 2016, 261.

53 *Relación histórica* 1793, 130–31; Foz y Foz 1981, 1:36, 57.

54 Foz y Foz 1981, 1:293–412.

55 Kasl 2017.

56 Echeverría arranged to have a novena prayed in the Basilica of Our Lady of El Pilar in Zaragoza, commencing March 12, 1785. Juan Bautista Echeverría to Juan Tomás Echeverría, Mexico City, October 27, 1784, ACGI; cited by Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo 2011, 197.

57 Aramburu Zudaire 2004, 25–30.

58 "se extienda su culto en aquellos Reynos donde es muy poco conocida N.S. con este título." Cited by Foz y Foz 1981, 1:53.

59 "Relación de las religiosas de la Compañía de María o de la enseñanza que pasan a fundar un convento en México," May 15, 1753, Archivo General de Indias, Contratación, N. 1, R. 11. See Foz y Foz 1981, 1:84–90, 281–86.

60 Foz y Foz 1981, 1:232, 290–309.

61 Ibid., 1:328, 335–36.

62 Taylor 2010, 117–21. The literature on the Virgin of Guadalupe is vast; sources include Poole 1995; Brading 2001; and Peterson 2014.

63 Florencia 1741, 146–47; Robles 1972, 1:144–46; Poole 1995, 174.

64 Nicolás Enríquez painted other versions of the subject, including a larger one, also on copper, now in the Denver Art Museum, 2013.303.

65 Islas was paid for the canvases in 1774. Toussaint 1942.

66 The painting has not previously been associated with the Aránzazu altarpiece. See Burke 1998, 38–40, 140–41. It is noteworthy that Andrés de Islas painted a portrait of Francisco Leandro de Viana, who was rector of the confraternity at the time of the commission. For the portrait, see Katzew 2020.

67 Montes González 2020.

68 Cuadriello 1994; Barea Azcón 2011; Peterson 2014, 263–72; Montes González 2015.

69 Echeverría Goñi (1991, 180–82) identified fourteen paintings of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Navarre.

70 The painting does not survive in situ, having been removed after the suppression of the Jesuit order. Fernández Gracia 2014, 76–77.

71 "por haver nacido en las Indias bajo su amparo le profeso singular devozion"; Foz y Foz 1981, 2:32–33.

72 Gil Munilla 1949, 70; Echeverría Goñi 1991, 181, 187; Fernández Gracia 2005, 180–81; Fernández Gracia 2014, 78.

73 On relics of touch, see Belting 1994, 49–57.

74 Poole 1995, 155.

75 Cabrera 1756, 2–3.

76 The painting is inscribed: *Tocada à su maravilloso original, el dia dos de julio de 1785*.

77 Martin Miguel de Echeverría to Juan Bautista de Echeverría, Cadiz, September 2, 1785, ACGI: "El amigo don Joaquin de Ybarlucea . . . diz el que la Lamina de vm con otras dos suya, y nro don Fermin, quedó allí por no haverse podido conseguir el fin de tocarla al Original, y que en verificandose vendrá en primera ocasion."

78 Fermin de Elizalde to Juan Bautista de Echeverría, Cadiz, November 18, 1785, ACGI: "There is no need for such an extended account in order to tell me that I still owe you 70 pesos as a result of the 220 pesos you gave to Mendiburu for my commission of a framed painting on copper of Our Lady of Guadalupe." ("No havia nesessidad de tanta relacion para desirme vm que todavia le devo setenta pesos por resulta de los 220 pesos que dió a Mendiburu para mi encargo de Lamina y marco de Nra. Sra. de Guadalupe.")

79 Martin Miguel de Echeverría to Juan Bautista de Echeverría, February 10, 1786, ACGI: "Tengo en mi poder la Ymagen de Nra Sra de Guadalupe, que vino para vm en la fragata Triunfante llegado ultimamente de Vera Cruz si se proporciona ocasion buena remitiré á vm, y sino hirá quando yo vaya."

80 Martin Miguel de Echeverría to Juan Bautista de Echeverría, Cadiz, February 24, 1786, ACGI: "Temo que para la remision dela Lamina de vm no se proporcionara occasion hasta mi hida a esa que será Dios mediante luego que pasa la prosima Quaresma."

81 Fermín de Elizalde to Juan Bautista de Echeverría, Cadiz, February 24, 1786, ACGI: "I have seen the painting on copper of Our Lady of Guadalupe that belongs to you in the possession of our don Martin Miguel de Echeverría, and according to what he told me on Tuesday of this week, he wants to carry it himself; God-willing that it should be this way, although I greatly fear that all will remain in conversation." ("La lamina de nra. sra. de Guadalupe pertenezi-ente a V.M. la he visto en poder de nro. Dn. Martin Miguel de Echevería, y segun me dijo el martes de esta semana, quiere ser el mismo el portador de ella; quiera Dios que asi sea, aunque yo temo mucho que todo quede en Conbersacion").

82 Martin Miguel de Echeverría to Juan Bautista de Echeverría, Cadiz, March 17, 1786, ACGI: "La lámina de vm Guadalupana (tocada a la Original) hirá conmigo pues antes no se presentará ocasion buena."

83 Martin Miguel de Echeverría to Juan Bautista de Echeverría, Cadiz, April 21, 1786, ACGI: "Nuestra salida de aqui para ese Noble Valle será el 25 del corriente."

84 Portilla Vitoria and Eguía López de Sabando 1968, 284; Viana Pérez 1996, 340–43. Made Count of Tepa in 1780, Viana had spearheaded the establishment of the "Bascongada" in Mexico and served as rector of the Aránzazu confraternity in 1772–73. See Torales Pacheco 2001, 163–65.

REFERENCES

Alcalá, Luisa Elena, Jaime Cuadriello, Ilona Katzew, and Paula Mues Orts

2017 "Painted in Mexico, 1700–1790." In Katzew 2017a, 16–49.

Alcalá, Luisa Elena, and Benito Navarrete Prieto, eds.

2023 *América en Madrid: Cultura material, arte e imágenes*. Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

Amores Carredano, Juan Bosco, and Gaspar Castellano de Gastón

2014 *Entre el Valle de Baztán y América: El Indiano Juan Bautista de Echeverría y la casa Gastón de Irurita*. Pamplona: Ediciones Eunate.

Andueza Unanua, Pilar

2011 "Virgen del Camino con San Fermín y San Saturnino." In *Pamplona y San Cernin 1611–2011: IV Centenario del voto de la ciudad*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 108–9. Exh. cat., Civivox Condestable, Pamplona. Pamplona: Ayuntamiento de Pamplona.

Aramburu Zudaire, Mikel

2004 "Franciscanos, franciscanismo y devociones marianas en la emigración Navarra a Indias durante la Edad Moderna." In *Las huellas de Aránzazu en América: I Congreso Internacional Arantzazu y los Franciscanos Vascos en América*, edited by Óscar Álvarez Gila and Idoia Arrieta Elizalde, 19–41. San Sebastián: Eusko Ikaskuntza.

Báez Macías, Eduardo

1966 "Planos y censos de la Ciudad de México, 1753," part 1. *Boletin del Archivo General de la Nación, México* 7:407–84.

1967 "Planos y censos de la Ciudad de México, 1753; Censo arreglado alfabéticamente," part 2. *Boletin del Archivo General de la Nación, México* 8:485–1156

Balbuena, Bernardo de

1990 *La grandeza mexicana y compendio apologético en alabanza de la poesía* [1604]. Edited by Luis Adolfo Domínguez. 5th ed. Mexico City: Porrúa.

Barea Azcón, Patricia

2011 "Pintura novohispana en Andalucía: Los protagonistas de un fenónmeno cultural de ida y vuelta." In *Andalucía y América: Patrimonio artístico*, edited by Rafael López Guzmán, 45–76. Granada: Editorial Atrio.

Bargellini, Clara

1999 "Painting on Copper in Spanish America." In *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575–1775*, edited by Michael K. Komanecky, 31–44. Exh. cat., Phoenix Art Museum. New York: Oxford University Press.

2006 "Consideraciones acerca de las firmas de los pintores novohispanos." In *El proceso creativo: XXVI Coloquio Internacional de Historia de Arte*, edited by Alberto Dallal, 203–22. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Belting, Hans

1994 *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Berdún y Guendulain, Juan Joaquín de

1693 *Libro de las milagrosas vidas y gloriosos triunfos de las dos apostolicas columnas de el augusto Reyno de Navarra, S. Saturnino y S. Fermin Trismegistos*. Pamplona: Domingo de Berdala.

Borchart de Moreno, Christiana Renate

1984 *Los mercaderes y el capitalismo en la ciudad de México (1759–1778)*. Translated from the German by Alejandro Zenker. Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Brading, D. A.

1971 *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2001 *Mexican Phoenix. Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burke, Marcus B.

1998 *Treasures of Mexican Colonial Painting: The Davenport Museum of Art Collection*. Davenport, Iowa: Davenport Museum of Art; Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.

Cabrera, Miguel

1756 *Maravilla americana y conjunto de raras maravillas, observadas con la dirección de las Reglas de el Arte de la Pintura en la prodigiosa imagen de Nuestra S^ra^. de Guadalupe de Mexico*. Mexico City: Imprenta del Real, y mas Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso.

Castellano de Gastón, Gaspar

2006 *Los Gastón de Iriarte: Trayectoria de una casa baztanesa (siglos XVI–XIX)*. Pamplona: Ediciones Eunate.

Cuadriello, Jaime

1994 "La propagación de las devociones novohispanas: Las guadalupanas y otras imágenes preferentes." In *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte*, vol. 3, *Nueva España 1*, edited by María Luisa Sabau García, 256–99. Mexico City: D. R. Primera.

Echeverría Goñi, Pedro Luis

1991 "Mecenazgo y legados de indianos en Navarra." *Principe de Viana* 13:157–200.

Fernández Gracia, Ricardo

1996 "La estampa devocional en Navarra." In *Signos de Identidad histórica para Navarra*, 2:183–200. 2 vols. Pamplona: Caja de Ahorros de Navarra.

2005 "La promoción de las artes en Navarra durante el siglo XVIII: Hombres e instituciones; Patronos y mecenas." In *Juan de Goyeneche y el triunfo de los navarros en la Monarquía Hispánica del siglo XVIII*, 147–93. Exh. cat., Real Academía de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid; Monasterio de Augustinas Recoletas, Pamplona. Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra.

2011 "Virgen del Camino con San Fermín y San Saturnino." In *Pamplona y San Cernin, 1611–2011: IV Centenario del voto de la ciudad*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 102–3. Exh. cat., Civivox Condestable, Pamplona. Pamplona: Ayuntamiento de Pamplona.

2014 "Promotores y donantes de la pintura novohispana en Navarra y noticias sobre los tres lienzos de la Trinidad antropomorfa." *Bilduma Ars*, no. 4, 73–94.

2023 "La primera pintura de la Virgen del Camino en 1675." *Diario de Navarra*, May 13.

Florencia, Francisco de

1741 *La estrella de el norte de México*. Mexico City: Antonio Velázquez. Originally published 1688.

Foz y Foz, Pilar

1981 *La revolución pedagogica en Nueva España, 1754–1820: María Ignacia de Azlor y Echeverz y los colegios de la Enseñanza*. 2 vols. Madrid and Mexico City: Instituto de Estudios y Documentos Históricos.

García-Ayluardo, Clara

1994 "El milagro de la Virgen: El desarollo de los vascos como grupo de poder en la Nueva España." In *La R.S.B.A.P. en México: IV Seminario de Historia de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País* 1:439–57. 3 vols. Donostia: Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País.

Gil Munilla, Ladislao

1949 "Significado histórico del Convenio de la Enseñanza de Tudela." *Príncipe de Viana* 34:65–82.

Goyeneche, Juan de

1685 *Executoria de la nobleza, antigüedad y blasones del Valle de Baztán*. Madrid: Antonio Román.

Gruzinski, Serge

2010 *Las cuatro partes del mundo: Historia de una mundialización*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Heredia Moreno, María del Carmen

1980 "Cálices peruanos en Navarra." *Príncipe de Viana* 41, no. 160–61, 561–72.

2010 "Los indianos navarros y sus donaciones de plata labrada." In *Ophir en las Indias: Estudios sobre la plata americana; siglos XVI–XIX*, edited by Jesús Paniagua Pérez and Nuria Salazar Simarro, 449–76. León: Universidad de León.

Huerta, María Teresa

1983 "La familia Yermo, 1750–1850." *Relaciones: Estudios de historia y sociedad*, no. 14, 46–64.

Hyman, Aaron M.

2021 *Rubens in Repeat: The Logic of the Copy in Colonial Latin America*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.

Iguíniz, Juan B.

1951 *Breve historia de la Tercera Orden Franciscana en la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días*. Mexico City: Editorial Patria.

Kasl, Ronda

2017 "Nicolás Enríquez, *The Apparition of the Virgin of El Pilar to Saint James*." In Katzew 2017a, 444–45, 475–76.

Katzew, Ilona

2017a as editor. *Painted in Mexico, 1700–1790: Pinxit Mexici*. Exh. cat. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

2017b "Nicolás Enríquez, *The Assumption of the Virgin*." In Katzew 2017a, 186–87.

2020 "Trastoques y elipsis en un retrato de tornaviaje: La ductilidad de los mensajes." In Quiles García, Amador Marrero, and Fernández 2020, 13–32.

Kicza, John E.

1983 *Colonial Entrepreneurs, Families, and Business in Bourbon Mexico City*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Lamikiz, Xabier

2017 "Basques in the Atlantic World, 1450–1824." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*. Published online October 26, https://oxfordre.com/latinamericanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.001.0001/acrefore-9780199366439-e-401.

Lanzagorta Diego, María Rosario

2021 "Análisis de un flujo migratorio vasco hacia el México colonial." *Historias* 105:37–66.

Libro de las constituciones

1796 *Libro de las constituciones del v. Orden tercero de penitencia de n. s. p. s. Franciso: Sacadas de las que hizo el Illmô. Señor don fr. Antonio Trejo obispo de Cartagena . . . Confirmadas por . . . Urbano VIII, y nuevamente mondificadas y añadidas otras peculiares por los Hermanos de la mesa de dicho v. Orden en Mexico* [1783]. Reprint. Mexico City: M. J. De Zúñiga.

López Guzmán, Rafael, ed.

2021 *Tornaviaje: Arte iberoamericano en España*. Exh. cat. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado.

Luque Alcaide, Elisa

1995 *La Cofradía de Aránzazu de México (1681–1799)*. Pamplona: Eunate.

2014 "La cofradía de Aránzazu de México (1681–1861): Continuidad de un proyecto." In *Devoción, paisanaje e identidad: Las cofradías y congregaciones de naturales en España y en América (siglos XVI–XIX)*, edited by Óscar Álvarez Gila, Alberto Angulo Morales, and Jon Ander Ramos Martínez, 227–46. [Bilbao]: Universidad del País Vasco.

Mariluz Urquijo, José María.

1983 "El indiano en la Corte: La Real Congregación de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe." In *Tres estudios novohispanos: Sociedad, letras, arte*, edited by José María Mariluz Urquijo, Elena Omacini, and Daisy Ripodas Ardanaz, 11–44. Buenos Aires: Libros de Hispanoamérica.

Melvin, Karen

2012 *Building Colonial Cities of God: Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Molins Mugueta, José Luis, and Ricardo Fernández Gracia

1987 "La Capilla de Nuestra Señora del Camino." In *La Virgen del Camino de Pamplona: V Centenario de su aparición (1487–1987)*, 61–117. Burlada (Navarre): I. G. Castuera.

Montes González, Francisco

2015 *Sevilla guadalupana: Arte, historia y devoción*. Seville: Diputación de Sevilla.

2020 "Antonio de Torres: Mercado, fama y crítica de un pintor guadalupano." In Quiles García, Amador Marrero, and Fernández 2020, 277–302.

Olavarría y Ferrari, Enrique de

1889 *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola, vulgarmente, Colegio de las Vizcaínas; en la actualidad Colegio de la Paz: Reseña histórica*. Mexico City: Francisco Díaz de León.

Peterson, Jeanette Favrot

2014 *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Poole, Stafford

1995 *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531–1797*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Portilla Vitoria, Micaela Josefa, and José Eguía López de Sabando

1968 *Catálogo monumental, diócesis de Vitoria,* vol. 2, *Arciprestazgos de Treviño-Albaína y Campezo*. Vitoria: Caja de Ahorros Municipal de Vitoria.

Quiles García, Fernando, Pablo Amador Marrero, and Martha Fernández, eds.

2020 *Tornaviaje: Tránsito artístico entre los virreinatos americanos y la metrópolis*. Universo Barroco Iberoamericano 11. Santiago de Compostella: Andavira; Seville: Enredars and Universidad Pablo de Olavide.

Real Díaz, José Joaquín
1959 *Las ferias de Jalapa*. Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos.
Relación histórica
1793 *Relación histórica de la fundación de este Convento de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Compañia de María, llamada vulgarmente la Enseñanza, en esta ciudad de México, y compendio de la vida y virtudes de n. m. r. m. María Ignacia Azlor y Echeverz su fundadora y patrona*. Mexico City: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros.
Robin, Alena
2014 *Las capillas del Vía Crucis de la ciudad de México: Arte, patrocinio y sacralización del espacio*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Robles, Antonio de
1972 *Diario de sucesos notables (1665–1703)*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa.
Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo, Jesús
2011 *Vivir y morir en México: Vida cotidiana en el epistolario de los españoles vasconavarros, 1750–1900*. San Sebastián: Editorial Nuevos Aires.
San Vicente, Juan Manuel de
1990 *Exacta descripción de la magnífica corte mexicana, cabeza del nuevo americano mundo, significada por sus essenciales partes, para el bastante conocimiento de su grandeza* [1768]. In *La ciudad de México en el siglo XVIII (1690–1780): Trés crónicas*, edited by Antonio Rubial García. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.
Seed, Patricia
1982 "Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62, no. 4 (November): 569–606.
Solano, Francisco de
1979 *Antonio de Ulloa y la Nueva España*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México.
Taylor, William B.
2010 *Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico before the Reforma*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
2016 *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Torales Pacheco, María Cristina
2001 *Ilustrados en la Nueva España: Los socios de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País*. Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana.
2017 *Empresarios novohispanos y sus vínculos en el Pacífico insular, siglo XVIII: Felipe de Yriarte y Francisco Ignacio de Yraeta, sus epístolas*. Mexico City: Bonilla Artigas.
Totoricaguena, Gloria Pilar
2004 *Identity, Culture, and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*. Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press.
Toussaint, Manuel
1942 "Un documento acerca de Andrés de Islas." *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 8 (January 1): 77–78.
Valle Pavón, Guillermina del
2014 "Las funciones crediticias de las cofradías y los negocios de los mercaderes del Consulado de la ciudad de México, fines del siglo XVIII y principios del siglo XIX." *Revista de Indias* 74, no. 261, 507–38.
Viana Pérez, Francisco
1996 "Vinculación de un indiano con su tierra, Álava: Francisco Leandro de Viana, Conde de Tepa." In *Álava y América*, edited by Ronald Escobedo Mansilla, Ana de Zaballa Beascoechea, and Óscar Álvarez Gila, 323–50. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Diputación Foral de Álava.
Villafañe, Juan de
1726 *Compendio histórico en que se da noticia de las milagrosas y devotas imágenes de la Reyna de cielos y tierra, María Santíssima, que se veneran en los más célebres santuarios de Hespaña*. Salamanca: Imprenta de Eugenio García de Honorato.
Zaballa Beascoechea, Ana de
1996 "Mentalidad e identidad de los Vascos en México siglo XVIII: Una aproximación a su estudio." In *Los vascos en las regiones de México siglos XVI a XX*, edited by Amaya Garritz, 2:157–69. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
2010 "Aránzazu y San Ignacio: Iconos de los vascos en Nueva España." In *Organización, identidad e imagen de las colectividades vascas de la emigración (siglos XVI–XXI)*, edited by Óscar Álvarez Gila, 117–41. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco.

Imperial Threads: Kashmiri Shawls in Nineteenth-Century Iran

NADER SAYADI

In a welcome shift toward material and global perspectives in art history, textiles have been increasingly recognized for their profound historical and cultural importance. In this context, a moon shawl in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) presents an opportunity to investigate the change in global demand for luxury goods, local tastes in court fashions, and the sociopolitical power of textiles (figs. 1, 2a–d).[1] Composed of fragments from four distinct Kashmiri shawls, the moon shawl encapsulates the rich intermingling of production practices in the Kashmir Valley, the Himalayas, with Western European and West Asian consumption during the nineteenth century. This article consults textiles and portraits alongside written sources such as Iranian newspapers and European travel accounts to challenge prevalent narratives.

fig. 1 Moon shawl, 1840s–50s. Kashmir, India. Wool, 63 × 63 in. (160 × 160 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. W. G. Toland, 1950 (50.104)

Metropolitan Museum Journal, volume 59, 2024. Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with the University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1086/734023. © 2024 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Contrary to the dominant discourse, this study asserts Iran's pivotal role as a significant market for Kashmiri shawls, and their use as political devices within the Qajar court. The MMA moon shawl reflects a transitional period in both taste and symbolism in Iran, bridging global textile aesthetics with domestic court dynamics. The study reveals how these shawl fragments embody the Iranian response to Kashmir's production for specialized markets in the nineteenth century. It argues that the emergence of new shawl designs in the mid-nineteenth century carried explicit imperial connotations, especially in the 1860s as they became favored materials for robes of honor within the Qajar state's expanding bureaucratic system. The state's emphasis on the robes as an institution contributed to its efforts in implementing a more centralized monarchy modeled on the Safavid administrative structure in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Kashmiri shawls symbolized political continuity and legitimacy, consolidating the Qajar reign after decades of dynastic turmoil on the Iranian Plateau between the fall of Isfahan and the rise of Tehran in the eighteenth century.

An examination of the constituent elements of the MMA moon shawl illuminates two key themes. First, it repositions Iran as a primary consumer of Kashmiri shawls. Additionally, it reveals the distinctive design motifs favored in Iran, previously overlooked due to scholarly focus on Europe. Second, this research underscores the evolving symbolism of Kashmiri shawls within Iranian dynastic discourse, particularly their association with Qajar court robes of honor. The shawls once used primarily as aristocratic clothing transformed into potent political emblems. Although focused largely on men's attire due to the patriarchal system of the Qajar court, the study acknowledges the broader use of Kashmiri shawls across genders, age groups, and social class.

fig 2a Detail of *muharramāt shawl* (fig. 1)

fig. 2b Detail of *shākh-i-gavaznī* shawl (fig. 1)

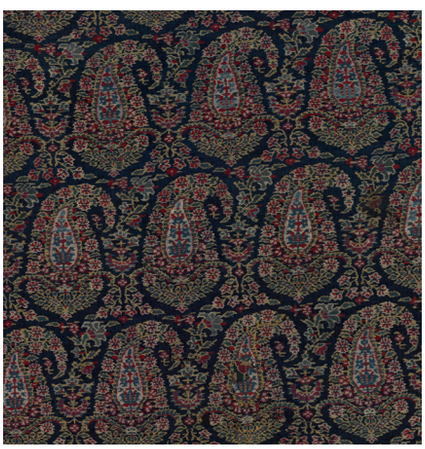

fig. 2c Detail of *buti* shawl (fig. 1)

fig. 2d Detail of *buti* shawl (fig. 1)

KASHMIRI SHAWLS FOR IRANIAN MARKETS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Kashmiri shawls refer to a group of textiles developed and mass-produced for domestic and export demands in early modern Kashmir.[2] The defining characteristics of Kashmiri shawls are their material, weaving technique, and paisley (*buti*) motif.[3] They were made from exceptionally soft and warm wool known as pashmina,[4] taken from the undercoat of goats in the Himalayas and woven by a tapestry twill technique.[5] The result was a luxurious woolen textile that competed with silks in delicacy and texture.[6]

The shawls were vital to the local Kashmiri economy, as they had become an essential aristocratic commodity from London to Delhi in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[7] A sensation in late eighteenth-century France, they served as a catalyst for change in elite fashion in Western Europe.[8] The role of so-called cashmere in nineteenth-century Europe has been widely studied.[9] "Cashmere fever"—as Walter Benjamin called it in *The Arcades Project*—provoked French and British makers to imitate Kashmiri shawls.[10] Between the 1810s and 1830s, European agents traveled to Kashmir to collect data about the particularities of fiber, weaving techniques, and the latest designs.[11]

However, Western Europe was only one of many markets for these highly valued textiles in the early nineteenth century. The Indian subcontinent, Central Asia, Turkey, Armenia, Arabia, Iran, and Russia extensively imported Kashmiri shawls in the 1810s and 1820s. Kashmir produced seventy-four types of textiles in this period and exported no fewer than thirty-nine types of shawls, four of them exclusively to Iran.[12] Indeed, Iran

was a much more significant consumer of shawls than has previously been emphasized.[13]

The mass consumption of imported Kashmiri shawls by Iranian aristocrats had financial consequences that contributed to a trade deficit, causing a significant flow of specie out of Iran in the first half of the nineteenth century.[14] In response, the central government implemented two strategies: it discouraged or banned the use of Kashmiri shawls by the court and governmental officers and encouraged the local production of shawl textiles.[15] As in Western Europe, the high demand for Kashmiri shawls in Iran provoked a robust industry of imitation shawls.[16] Kerman in southern Iran entered into competition with Kashmir by producing shawls for the local and global markets, supported by policies administered during the reign of Fath ʿAli Shah (1797–1834) and the following two Qajar rulers.[17] Contemporary observers describe Kermani shawls as so successfully rivaling those from Kashmir in pattern and texture that even connoisseurs had difficulty distinguishing them.[18] Regardless, Kashmiri shawls remained superior to domestic imitation counterparts in Iran. Despite the occasional state efforts to minimize the use of Kashmiri shawls, the courtiers, dignitaries, and even the shah himself extensively wore and gifted Kashmiri shawls through the nineteenth century. Contrary to such top-down policies, shawls—such as the fragments used in the MMA moon shawl—became the textile of choice for robes of honor in the Qajar court.

Kashmiri shawls and their imitations were used in various ways to showcase elite status in Iran,[19] appearing as door hangings, tent linings, tray covers, and floor spreads.[20] They adorned the seats of bride and groom during wedding celebrations, and covered pack animals or mounts for special occasions.[21] In religious contexts, they served as hangings or banners in ceremonial processions during Muharram and covered graves in holy shrines.[22] Dark Kashmiri shawls adorned the coffin, bier, or portable shrines in funerals of aristocrats.[23] In all these cases, shawls were an outstanding medium to communicate the social and economic status of the Iranian aristocracy in life and death.

KASHMIRI SHAWLS IN IRANIAN ARISTOCRATS' WARDROBES, 1780S–1810S

Prior to their explicit political use in the first half of the nineteenth century, Kashmiri shawls had been a central part of Iranian aristocratic wardrobes. Women and men wore them extensively between the 1780s and 1810s. The two dominant categories, *patka* and *jamawar*, were highly sought after in Iranian markets for their exquisite craftsmanship and intricate designs. The *patka* shawl, characterized by its long and narrow format, consisted of a plain monochrome field and two ends depicting one or a few rows of large paisley motifs (fig. 3).[24] They occasionally had narrow bands of floral patterns along the borders.[25] Especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, aristocrats wore shawls around caps to form headgear (*shāl-va-kulāh*), or around the waist as girdles (*shāl-i kamar*).[26] They were either tied at the front with ends cascading down to the ankles or wrapped multiple times around the waist with tucked ends, with men preferring shorter ends to the knees.[27] Favored colors included white, red, orange, and black.[28] In all cases, Kashmir produced the *patka* as a long sash without alterations. The *jamawar* shawl, on the other hand, was composed of striped textiles[29] and was primarily produced as a type of dress shawl. It was often crafted into luxurious undergarments, stockings,

fig. 3 Shawl of joined fragments. Kashmir, India. Late 18th or early 19th century. Pashmina wool, twill weave, double interlocking twill tapestry weave, pieced, 50½ × 115 in. (128.3 × 292.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Adrienne Minassian, 1994 (1997.319)

fig. 4 Aqa Buzurg Shirazi (Iranian, act. ca. 1840–60). *Prince Nasir al-Din Mirza*, 1840s. Watercolor on paper, 13½ × 9 in. (34.3 × 22.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Stephen and Thomas Ettinghausen, in memory of Dr. Richard Ettinghausen and Dr. Elisabeth S. Ettinghausen, 2017 (2017.692.5)

caps, veils, gowns, trousers, and garment linings, as well as headgear or girdles.[30]

Nearly identical *patkas* were used by Iranian and French elites in the 1800s and 1810s but fashioned in different ways. In Iran, visual and written sources suggest that although their use as headgear and short jackets was specific to men, overall, Kashmiri shawls were not gendered. In Europe, however, the shawls were mainly popular among women, either worn as a mantle on the shoulders or incorporated into dresses.[31]

A TURNING POINT, 1820S–1830S

In the 1820s and 1830s Kashmir began to export shawls of different sizes, designs, and color palettes (fig. 4).[32] For Western Europe, the shape became more square, rather than in long sashes, and warm colors on black grounds predominated. The shawls were made larger and longer, and the paisley motifs were interlaced in a symmetrical scheme. The visual elements extended from the four sides and corners toward the center, which was free of patterns, showing the field color.[33] These large square shawls covered the wearer's back and showcased the complex patterns (fig. 5).[34]

In Iran, dignitaries mainly sought other novel types, samples of which are represented in the MMA moon shawl.[35] These types resulted from combining the *jamawar* and the *patka* sashes, incorporating rows of smaller patterns but forgoing stripes of color along the rows of floral forms. They feature paisley motifs, either stand-alone in rows or interspersed with other curvilinear shapes. These dress shawls were meant to be cut and tailored into garments rather than worn independently; their small and complex repeat patterns conveniently concealed seams. The *patka* was almost outmoded in both European and Iranian markets by the 1830s. Nevertheless, new designs of striped *jamawars* remained in circulation for occasional use for official ceremonies at the court in Iran in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Shawl producers in Kashmir experimented with further new patterns and palettes. A painting from about 1866 depicts a dignitary sitting at the center of a mansion hall surrounded by buyers and sellers of numerous types of Kashmiri shawls (fig. 6).[36] He negotiates with a dealer on his right for a plain red one. Other individuals are shown in conversation among striped dress shawls and interlaced paisley patterned shawls on black fields, predominantly produced for consumption in Iran and Europe, respectively.

Kashmir transformed prior types into fresh styles for Iranian demand during the 1840s. Large paisleys in shades of yellow and red set against black, navy, and dark blue backgrounds gained popularity.[37] Another design showcased a diagonal arrangement of spiraled vines carrying paisleys. The winding stems ran parallel, like sinuous vines moving diagonally across the textile, which exhibited a resemblance to sprouts with pointed ends, giving rise to the nickname "antler" motif.[38] The fragment of the MMA moon shawl in figure 2b belongs to this group.[39] The resulting composition featured diagonal vines adorned with sizable, warm-colored paisleys on dark backgrounds (fig. 4).[40]

In the late 1840s and 1850s, smaller rows of paisley motifs came into fashion, and in addition to dark colors, warm-colored grounds such as browns, tans, reds, deep oranges, and dark yellows dominated. Unlike their

predecessors, in these works the color of the vines was closer to the ground color, rendering the vines subtler. Instead, the paisley motifs became more prominent and organized along horizontal rows. In another popular type, the vines were eliminated, and the shawls were covered with paisleys in various arrangements. Two types of fragments in the MMA moon shawl represent this design (figs. 2c, 2d). As seen in portraiture, by the 1850s most Iranian dignitaries owned at least an outer garment made from shawls with rows of small paisleys.[41]

Iran and Western Europe simultaneously imported and domestically replicated Kashmiri shawls. By the 1870s, this practice led to a decline in European interest for the imported versions.[42] Meanwhile, Kashmiri shawls remained in high demand in Iran, as evidenced by the case of Charles James Wills, a British doctor residing there. When gifted a pair of striped shawls, he proceeded to sell one at a bazaar for eighteen pounds sterling and brought the other to his mother in England. To his surprise, the shawl went unappreciated by his mother, and by a London draper, who offered him a mere one and a half pounds when he resorted to selling it. Upon returning to Iran, he managed to obtain twenty pounds for it, with his servant earning an additional five pounds as a sales commission.[43]

fig. 5 Shawl, 1830s–60s. Kashmir, India. Wool, 84 × 84 in. (213.4 × 213.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Joseph R. Skidmore, 1896 (96.21.13)

fig. 6 Unknown Punjabi artists. *The Sale*, ca. 1866. Gouache and watercolor on paper, 13 3/16 × 23 1/16 in. (33.5 × 58.6 cm). Murphy 1988, 23

SHAWLS FOR ROBES OF HONOR, 1840S–1850S

In the 1840s Kashmiri shawls took on explicit imperial connotations by being linked to robes of honor (*khil'ats*).[44] For centuries in the Islamic world, the robes signified the transfer of authority from leaders to their subordinates through the act of gifting.[45] The robes did not adhere to a universal type of textile or attire, with various cultures ascribing elevated prestige to their chosen garments.[46] The increasing use of robes of honor as a political practice was rooted in the formation and consolidation of the Qajar dynasty in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Qajars came to power in the 1790s after decades of civil war in Iran in the eighteenth century. They faced the problem of legitimate sovereignty and the crisis of royal authority due to the dynastic discontinuity and instability of the "short eighteenth century" in Iran between the fall of Isfahan and the establishment of Tehran as the new capital city of the Qajars, in 1722 and 1779, respectively.[47] Despite setbacks, Fath 'Ali Shah successfully converted predominantly tribal and regional governance into a centralized and enduring monarchy modeled on the Safavid (1501–1722) imperial structure across the Iranian Plateau by the time he died in 1834.[48] The Qajars' defeats in wars against Russian troops in the Caucasus between the 1800s and 1820s also triggered military and administrative reforms. As a result, the Qajar state sought to further centralize political

fig. 7 *Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Nizam (Amir Kabir) Discussing with Aziz Khan Sardar*, 1848–51. Attributed to Abu'l Hasan Ghaffari, known as Sani' al-Mulk, or his students. Iran. Watercolor on paper mounted on cardboard, 6 × 3¾ in. (15.3 × 9.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts de l'Islam, Paris (inv. MAO 595)

fig. 8 ʻAli Khan Vali (Iranian, 1845–1902). *Zafar al-Mulk Amir-tuman's Chamberlain, Son of Deceased Ghulam Shah Khan, the [former] governor of Kurdistan, and His [Kurdish] Subjects*, 1880s–90s. Photoprint. Vali n.d., fol. 221 (seq. 225)

power and increase its control over tribal and urban elite forces in the provinces.[49] The enlarged government required a bureaucratic system with large numbers of administrative staff, from governors and military officers to secretaries and tax collectors. The subsequent Qajar rulers, Muhammad Shah and Nasir al-Din Shah, adopted similar policies in the 1830s–50s.[50]

During this time, robes of honor were worn in a voluminous, loosely fitted manner, their open front extending down to the shins or ankles.[51] The sleeves often exceeded the arm's length by one to two feet, concealing the hands—an indication of deference and submission.[52] The sleeves could also be scrunched so that the cuffs reached the wrists, wrinkled sleeves adding aesthetic value to the outfit.[53] The robes were worn by secretaries and high-ranking government officials, including ministers, tax collectors, court associates, and physicians (fig. 7).

The emergence of this new robe of honor in the Qajar court coincided with a high demand for new Kashmiri shawls in the Iranian market with the antler and small paisley (*buti*) repeat patterns like those in the MMA moon shawl fragments (figs. 2c, 2d).[54] These dress shawls were already established as the primary component of the robe of honor as early as 1847–48 (1263 H) in Iran. In a portrait by the royal painter Abuʻl Hasan Ghaffari, known as Saniʻ al-Mulk, now in the Malek Museum, Tehran, a seated dignitary wears a robe of honor made from a Kashmiri shawl resembling one of the fragments in the moon shawl (fig. 2c).[55] Another portrait attributed to the same painter depicts Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Nizam, known as Amir Kabir, Nasir al-Din Shah's first premier (*sadr-i aʻzam*) in 1848–51, wearing a robe of honor with its textile closely recalling the antler patterned fragment of the MMA moon shawl (figs. 2b, 7).[56] The wearer's high status was conveyed by the quality of the shawls rather than specific patterns of colors.[57] Embellishments might be added to signify prominence, such as multiple bands of striped textiles or fur or badges of honor like jeweled amulets and sashes showing military ranks and orders, many of which were adopted from European traditions (see fig. 11).

These shawl robes helped showcase the Qajar dynasty's expanding bureaucracy by visually indicating the wearer's court association, especially in regions distant from the capital where they might be less known. This symbolic display of authority was particularly pertinent when the head of state—the shah—was temporarily absent, making the robe of honor represent the leader's absolute embodiment.[58] In a photograph from western Iran dating from the 1880s to 1890s, a high-ranking military officer's chamberlain distinguishes himself from the local subjects by wearing a shawl robe of honor reaching his ankles and a black astrakhan hat (fig. 8).

Nearly everyone else wears garments to their knees and Kurdish turbans. The chamberlain's imperial garments visually differentiate him from the others.

SHAWLS AS POLITICAL OBJECTS, 1860S

By the 1860s, the shawl textile surpassed the robe itself in conveying authority, as exemplified by a newspaper illustration of 1862.[59] The robe of honor made from Kashmiri shawls was established as the signifier of higher sociopolitical status in Iran in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. By the 1860s, Kashmiri shawls had become solidified as the new visual language of the Qajar administration.[60] In the third week of April 1862 (Shawwal 1278 H), Nasir al-Din Shah granted awards to several individuals, including a young prince, his newly installed minister and chamberlain, and two more subordinate employees.[61] The remaining two were military officers: a brigade general and Mirza 'Ali Akbar Khan, an adjutant of the royal artillery (fig. 9).[62] All except the brigade general were gifted at least one wearable garment made of textiles from the shah. Mirza 'Ali Akbar Khan received an untailored bolt of Kashmiri shawl. What would he do with this prestigious gift, which he could not turn into a robe of honor, since he was not a

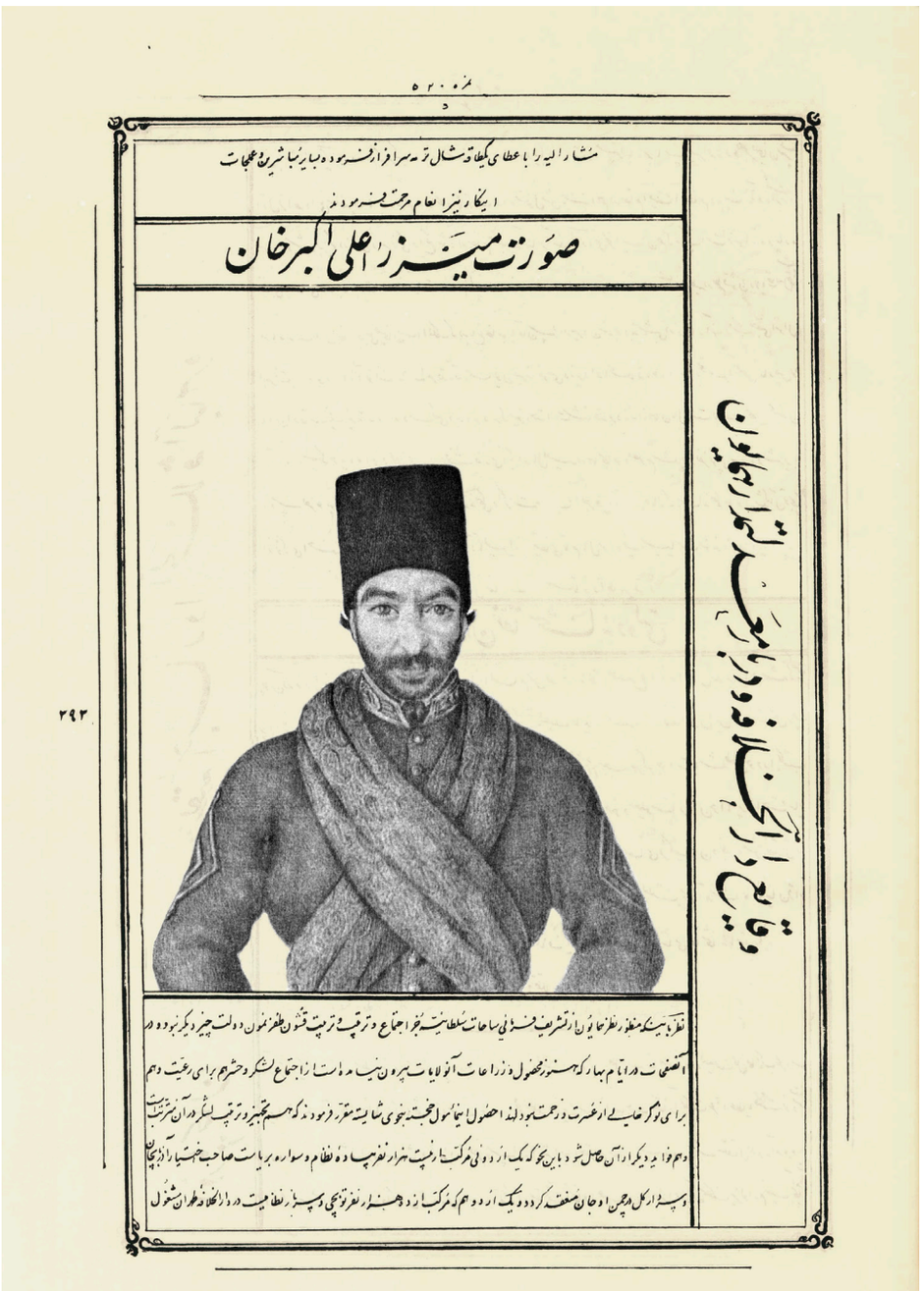

fig. 9 *Mirza 'Ali Akbar Khan*, April 21, 1862 (Shawwal 21, 1278 H). Facsimile. *Rūznama-yi Dulat-i 'Illīyi-yi Iran* 1991–92, 392

fig. 10 Antoin Sevruguin. *Salam Ceremony at the Gulistan Palace*, 1880–1930. Glass negative, 5⅛ × 7 in. (12.9 × 17.8 cm). Myron Bement Smith Collection, FSA A.04. National Museum of Asian Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Katherine Dennis Smith (FSA A.4 2.12.GN.54.09)

member of the court? The illustration shows him wearing the rolled Kashmiri shawl as a sash, a treatment that was acceptable for lower-ranking officials but did not fall under conventional military or administrative dress codes. In a further example, a photograph from the late nineteenth century shows a man (second from left in front row) wearing a rolled bolt of shawl textile diagonally around the torso, tied close to the waist, with the two ends hanging to his left (fig. 10).

Unlike the robe of honor, the political meaning of the untailored shawl was latent. Mirza ʻAli Akbar Khan activated the textile's potential dynastic symbolism through a performance: the shawl acted like a robe of honor when attached to the body. He showcased his prestigious gift by displaying the shawl on himself, not as a tailored garment but as an uncut piece. His act of wearing the shawl cloth roll around his torso reveals that the presence of the shawl in the public eye was enough to exhibit his attachment to the state. Although receiving and wearing a shawl robe of honor would deliver such a message more conventionally, the shawl material itself sufficed to accomplish that purpose and show Adjutant Mirza ʻAli Akbar Khan's association with the Qajar court. In other words, by the 1860s, the political symbolism of the shawl textile itself was more significant than any particular garment it might have been transformed into. The materiality of the garment became the primary marker of authority rather than the object itself.[63]

END OF POLITICAL SHAWLS, 1910S–1930S

By the late nineteenth century, the use of Kashmiri shawls and their imitations as political objects gradually declined.[64] The fashion of wearing tight-fitting upper garments and pants made from dark navy and black broadcloth became prominent among Qajar courtiers and the Iranian aristocracy, influenced by contemporary European cuts, styles, and textiles, particularly military uniforms of high-ranking officers.[65] Dignitaries wore these new clothes while occasionally adding robes of honor made from shawls on top. Meanwhile, the shawl production in Kashmir and its export supply declined in the 1870s–90s.[66] As a result, consumption of Kashmiri shawls drastically declined in Iran in the late nineteenth century.[67]

Following a fundamental change in the state's power structure after the Iranian Constitution of 1906, the shah lost his position as the absolute source of authority. Although many monarchic traditions persisted, the new parliamentary system laid foundations to render previous administrative practices obsolete, such as receiving and exhibiting robes of honor.[68] However, robes made from dress shawls remained a sign of old dynastic power. In a painting that shows Ahmad Shah Qajar (r. 1909–25) accompanied by the crown prince and the cabinet, the young king appears at center wearing a form-fitting garment and pants made from dark, plain textiles with no patterns (fig. 11). A few junior and middle-aged officials standing behind him wear similar clothes. In contrast, the most senior officials, standing near the foreground at left and right, wear robes of honor made from shawl textiles that were popular in the late nineteenth century.[69] By adhering to the outdated style, they showcase their service to previous Qajar rulers, Ahmad Shah's grandfather and great-grandfather. Around their necks they wear the Order of the Imperial Portrait of the previous kings.

fig. 11 Assad-Allah al-Husayni Naqqash-bashi (Iran, act. early 20th century). *Ahmad Shah Qajar and His Cabinet*, 1910–11 (1328 H). Oil on canvas, 82⅝ × 58¾ × 1⅛ in. (209.9 × 149.2 × 4.8 cm). National Museum of Asian Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Gift of the Farough and Jean Farman-Farmaian Family: Lehla Farman-Farmaian Dowlatshahi, Susan Farman-Farmaian Gharib, Valli Farman-Farmaian, and Marjan Farman-Farmaian Hosseinpour (S2013.4)

The political significance of the shawls halted during the 1920s and 1930s, a period marked by cultural and administrative transformations spurred by the establishment of the Pahlavi state (1925–79). This era of reform aimed to modernize societal and political structures and discouraged Qajar-era practices.[70] Under Reza Shah Pahlavi's reign, dress reform mandated the adoption of Western attire among court officials and governmental workers, and stipulated the donning of coats, jackets, trousers, leather shoes, and belts by men. This effectively sidelined the sartorial legacy and imperial expressions associated with the Qajar dynasty.[71]

CONCLUSIONS

At the height of Kashmiri shawl production during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, these lavish textiles held a significant place in Iranian aristocrats' wardrobes. In mid-nineteenth-century Iran, the meaning of Kashmiri shawls underwent a significant transformation, evolving from luxury items to potent political symbols of the Qajar dynasty. The shawls became the textile of choice for the new robes of honor, characterized by loose-fitting, extended sleeves. As standard attire for high-ranking officials in the 1840s and 1850s, robes signified the consolidation of Qajar dynastic power after the administrative fragmentation of the eighteenth century. By the early 1860s, shawls gained further significance in the Qajar court, becoming in their own right symbols of status independent from robes of honor. Even a lower-ranking military officer like Mirza 'Ali Akbar Khan could demonstrate his court affiliation by wrapping a bolt of rolled shawl around his torso. The MMA moon shawl represents pieces of textiles at the intersection of sartorial politics, taste, and global trade in the nineteenth century. Their function became obsolete during the modernizing reforms of Iran's government in the early twentieth century.

NOTE TO THE READER

This article uses the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES) transliteration system for the Persian language. Diacritical markers are omitted except for vowels and the two consonants '*ayn* (') and *hamza* ('). The frequent spelling of names and terms in English scholarship is used instead of their transliterated counterparts. The letter "H" in parentheses following the corresponding Common Era (CE) dates denotes the lunar Islamic Hijri calendar.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This essay is an outcome of my research at The Met as an Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in 2021–22. I am grateful to Navina Najat Haidar, Nasser Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah Curator in Charge; Maryam Ekhtiar, Patti Cadby Birch Curator; and Deniz Beyazit, Curator, in the Department of Islamic Art. I thank the staff of the Education Department for their support and feedback. I am indebted to Eva Labson, General Manager and Head of the Antonio Ratti Textile Study and Storage Center, and staff for generously studying and discussing textiles with me. I thank Janet Berlo and Caolán Mac An Aircinn, and Bryan Sitzes, whose constructive criticism contributed significantly to the enhancement of this article.

NADER SAYADI

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Art and Art History, University of Rochester

NOTES

1 The term *moon shawl* (*rumal* or *chāhārqad*) refers to large square pieces commonly with a round design in the center and quarter pieces in four corners. They could be either woven as one textile or made from various pieces. Ahmed 2020, 66.

2 The term *shawl* is derived from the Persian word *shāl*, which refers to a group of textiles made from fine wool rather than an item of clothing; see Irwin 1955, 1–2. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Kashmiri shawls and their Iranian imitations were known by the generic name *shāl-i tirmi*, or *tirmi*, in Iran. For *tirmi*, see Floor 1999, 312; see also Baker 1995, 21, 130. Jasleen Dhamija (1989, 75) argues that *termeh* "was really meant to be used as lengths, cut up and either stitched into garments or as ceremonial bath mats."

3 The outline of the typical paisley (*buti*) motifs consists of a teardrop form rounded at the bottom with a curving point at the top (figs. 2c, 2d, and 3). For the Kashmiri terminology, see Irwin 1955, 49. For a brief history, see Rizvi 2010, 159–60. The *buti* motif is known as *paisley* in English after the city of Paisley in Scotland, a primary center of Kashmiri shawl imitation production in the first half of the nineteenth century; see Lochrie 1987, 95. Alternative spellings and pronunciations of *buti* include *bota*, *buta*, *boteh*, *buteh*, and *boti*.

4 Derived from the word *pashm* in Persian, *pashmina* is a generic term that refers to the fleece or undercoat of a few species of goat native to the region; see Cohen 2010.

5 The craft was called *kani-kari* or *shāl-bāfi*. *Kani* are the small slender bobbins used in tapestry twill weaving in Kashmir. *Kani-kari*, literary *kani-work* or *bobbin-work*, refers to the craft of shawl weaving in Kashmir. See Ganjoor and Burza 2009, 11–12. *Shāl-bāfi*, literally *shal-weaving* or *shawl-weaving*, is a term common in Persian. See Vaziri Kermani 1966–67, 33, and Zakariaie Kermani 2009, 13. For tapestry twill-weaving technique in Kashmir and Iran, see Reath and Sachs 1937, 43, 54, and fig. 5 in diagrams; Ackerman 1964, 2199; and Chandra 1989, 61.

6 These shawls could have a density as high as 60 threads per centimeter (150 threads per inch) and weigh as little as 100 grams per square meter (0.32 ounce per square foot). Although many factors contributed to the value of shawls, denser (higher thread count) and lighter shawls often had higher values. See Beardsley and Sinopoli 2005, 30 and 37.

7 During the height of Kashmiri shawl production, 22,000 shawl looms in Srinagar, the political and commercial center of the Kashmir Valley, generated an annual revenue of 1,300,000 rupees (approximately 130,000 British pounds sterling in the early nineteenth century). See Parmu 1977, 177; see also Pauly 1975; Cohn 1996, 106–62; Rizvi 2006; and Zutshi 2009. For the Kashmiri shawl industry in the twenty-first century, see Ahmed 2020.

8 For the arrival of Kashmiri shawls in Europe, see Choudhury 2023, 19–59. For the socioeconomic status of Kashmiri shawls and the decline of the French aristocracy and the rise of the bourgeoisie, see Hiner 2005, 77–79.

9 *Cashmere* was the common English term for the Kashmir Valley geographic region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was also used to refer to the shawls produced in that region. See Maskiell 2002, 27–28.

10 Benjamin 2002, 55.

11 For a brief study of explorer William Moorcroft (1767–1825), see Karpinski 1963 and Alder 1985.

12 Kashmir produced shawls ranging in quality, costing between 40 and 7,000 rupees per piece. See Irwin 1955, 37–45.

13 Pandit Birbal Kachru (1795–1865) reported that about two hundred Iranian merchants resided in Srinagar in the 1800s. Several factors facilitated the connection between Iran and Kashmir. For example, most shawl weavers in Kashmir were Shi'i Muslims—the dominant Islamic sect in nineteenth-century Iran—and Persian (Farsi) was among the common languages in Kashmir. See Parmu 1977, 155. Although Muslim shawl weavers dominated the craft, their demographic distribution changed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Of 29,430 shawl weavers in Kashmir, 28,115 were Sunni, 1,000 were Shi'i, and 315 were Hindu in 1873. See Bates 1873, 30.

14 The mass importation of textiles, including Kashmiri shawls, to Iran by the British East India Company was a significant factor in the trade deficit and drastic currency depreciation in Iran through the nineteenth century. See Issawi 1971, 106, 114, and Amanat 2017, 228.

15 Letter from British diplomat Henry Ellis to Foreign Secretary Viscount Palmerston, June 16, 1836; see Issawi 1971, 79, 269.

16 New spinning and weaving technologies, such as the Jacquard loom, facilitated attempts to imitate Kashmiri shawls, which led to the mass production of woven shawls in the mid-nineteenth century; see Lévi-Strauss 1988. French printing manufacturers also entered this market by offering shawl imitations that were significantly less expensive than woven ones; see Jacqué and Bringel 2009.

17 At the turn of the nineteenth century, Kerman (called Gavashir) was already a wool production center, making shawls and felt. See Olivier 1807, 446–47; Pottinger 1816, 225, 227n; Dupré 1819, 375, 388; Wulff 1966, 356; and Vaziri Kermani 1966–67, 25. For Fath 'Ali Shah's reign, see Brydges 1834, 102. For Muhammad Shah's reign, see Sipihr 1998, 725. For Nasir al-Din Shah's reign, see *Rūznama-yi Vaqay'-i Ittifaqiyyi* 1994–95, 3.

18 See Blau 1858, 107, and Polak 1865, 154. Although Kermani shawls were in high demand, they remained inferior in prestige to their Kashmiri counterparts in Iran.

19 For an overview of the importance of textiles in the Islamic world, see Golombek 1988, 25.

20 Brydges 1834, 238; Burnes 1834, 22; St. John 1876, 1:102; Rawlinson 1898, 45–46.

21 Morier 1812, 208; Lycklama à Nijeholt 1874, 173.

22 Tancoigne 1820, 199. Also see Fontanier 1829, 85; Fowler 1841, 125; Perkins 1843, 166; Smith 1880, 39–40; Bird 1891, 169; and Sykes 1902, 149.

23 For two drawings showing a horse and a movable shrine-coffin covered with shawls for the Muharram processions, see Morier 1818, 182. These shawls were often removed and kept after the funeral. See Wills 1887, 248.

24 This study uses the term *patka* to refer to a group of shawls made in the form of long and narrow sashes with ornamental ends, regardless of how they were worn in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition to the definition above, *patka* is introduced as a girdle, turban, or both in the scholarship. See Ames 1997, 53–56.

25 Kashmiri shawl scholars have developed a set of terms such as the field (*matan*), side border (*hashiya*), end border or head (*phala, pala,* or *palla*), and narrow borders running above and below the *palla* (*tanjir*). See Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, 190, and Ahad 1987, 148–55.

26 See Drouville 1825, 62–63, 71; Buckingham 1830, 1:379, 2:36; and Malcolm 1845, 210.

27 For example, see *Portrait of a Prince*, MMA 2019.405. The girdle was already an essential part of the dress to hold the two sides of the open-front garments in place in early modern West Asia. See Goetz 1964, 2241–56.

28 These shawls were depicted in numerous paintings of young individuals and couples entertaining, celebrating, or relaxing in domestic settings. For example, see *Painting of a Dancer*, MMA 1971.22; and Falk 1972; Diba and Ekhtiar 1998; and Fellinger and Guillaume 2018.

29 Also called *garment-piece* or *gown-piece*, *jamawar* literally means material for *jama* in Hindi and Urdu. See Rizvi and Ahmed 2009, 275. Depending on the context, the word *jama*, or *jameh*, is a general term in Persian used for untailored woven textiles or tailored clothes. For examples of *jamawar* as silk textiles in the early eighteenth century, see ibid., 290n11, chap. 7. Kashmiri *jamawars* were mainly striped textiles under two subgroups, *khat-rāst* and *muharramāt* shawls, in the Iranian markets in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For the *khat-rāst* shawls, see stockings in figure 4. See also the undergarment shirt in *Prince Holding a Falcon*, MMA 2017.646; and *Fragment of a Shawl*, MMA 21.143.18. See also Nemati 2003, 224; Anavian and Anavian 1975, pls. 34–36, 40, 41; Guy, Crill, and Thakar 2014, 98, pl. 52; and Thakar et al. 2021, 196–97. For the etymology of the *khat-rāst,* see Rizvi and Ahmed 2009, 275. Alternative spellings in the scholarship include *khatherast* and *khatraaz*; see Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, 191, and Ames 1997, 113, 124–25, respectively. For the *muharramāt* shawl, see Anavian and Anavian 1975, 22, 49–50, pls. 28–33, and Nemati 2003, 81, 99, 101, 103, 134. For the *muharramāt* as a general term for striped-pattern textiles in early modern Iran, see Isfahani 1885–86, 204, and Dehkhoda, Mo'in, and Shahidi 1998, 20378.

30 While this versatility may indicate that the *jamawar* textiles were produced as yardage, they were still made and sold in pieces; see Rizvi and Ahmed 2009, 286n4 (under chap. 5). For veils, see Zoka 1957–58, 20. *Jamawar* shawls could be integrated into clothing items or covers without cutting or sewing, as exemplified by a fragment in the MMA moon shawl (fig. 2a).

31 For Queen Victoria's impact, see McConnell 2020, 45. See also Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Portrait de Madame de Senonnes*, dated 1814 (Musée d'Arts de Nantes, inv. 1028), in Daly 2011, 19.

32 Frank Ames has connected this drastic change in the pattern design in Kashmir to a religious and political shift from the reign of the Muslim Durranis to Sikh rulers over the region, starting with Ranjit Sing (1780–1839) in 1819. Ames (2010, 69, 74) describes the complex patterns of the new shawl designs for the European market as mystical and attributes their iconography to the Sikh religion and connection with Sufism in Islam. Nevertheless, a more socially, politically, and economically grounded explanation of the relatively sudden and significant change in shawl design in Kashmir and the production of different shawls for various markets is still yet to be explored.

33 In his classification of Kashmiri shawls based on a dynastic chronology, Ames (2010) calls these shawls the "Sikh style." Jeffrey Spurr (2012, 56) calls them the "European market style."

34 These shawls were known as *shāl-i Rezai* or *Rezai* in Iran; Blau 1858, 107, and Anavian and Anavian 1975, 22, pls. 45–54.

35 Despite their limited consumption, *Rezai* shawls (primarily meant for the European market) were among the most valuable designs in Iran in the 1850s. See Blau 1858, 107.

36 This painting was part of a group commissioned to Punjabi artists for the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris; Murphy 1988.

37 Kashmir experienced a revitalization period under governors Colonel Mihan Singh (1834–41) and Shaikh Ghulam Muhi al-Din (1841–45). This was mostly due to the revival of the workforce (partial return of the Shi'i Muslim weavers who had left the region due to religious persecution) and the import of pashmina wool from the Himalayas (which had been redirected to other weaving centers); see Parmu 1977, 145, 176. For two examples of the shawls, see Zoka 2003, 81, 88.

38 Rahim and George Anavian use the term *shākh-i gavaznī* (literally "stag horn" or "antler") to describe this pattern; see Anavian and Anavian 1975, 48. Jakob Eduard Polak (1865, 168) also mentions this term among preferred motifs in the Kashmiri shawls in the 1850s and 1860s.

39 For a similar example, see Irwin 1955, 61, pl. 35.

40 For a depiction of a comparable "antler" shawl, see Zoka 2003, 83.

41 In the 1830s the shawls were also used in the Indian subcontinent; see Losty and Keay 2019, 97.

42 Due to mass production, people in Europe from various social strata could now obtain and wear shawls; they went out of fashion by the 1870s. See Zutshi 2014, 169; Daly 2018; and Quaile 2023.

43 Wills 1891, 274.

44 Bestowing Kashmiri shawls as *khil'ats* was a common practice in the Mughal court in the early seventeenth century; see Alam and Subrahmanyam 2007, 123. *Khil'at* in Persian and *hil'at* in Ottoman Turkish derive from *khil'a* in Arabic, all of which refer to gifts in general and robes of honor in particular; see Floor 2013. For the *khil'at* in the Islamic world, see Phillips 2015, 111–23. For robes of honor in the Indian subcontinent, see Gordon 2003. For examples from the medieval world, see Gordon 2001.

45 Gift-giving as a political vessel was an established institutional practice in nineteenth-century Iran. Gifts could be in both material and immaterial forms, such as property or cash, prestigious titles, political or military appointments, or clothing items. For a specific historical study, see Ashraf 2016. For a broad art historical approach to gift-giving in the Islamic world, see Komaroff 2011. For a global perspective, see Biedermann, Gerritsen, and Riello 2018.

46 Stillman 1986, 6.

47 Amanat 2017, 159–60, 169; see also Lambton 1977.

48 Amanat 2001, 23, 29.

49 Amanat 2017, 177–78.

50 In addition to military reform, regulation of finance, and new foreign policy, the Qajars expanded the bureaucratic system to centralize power further. See Amanat 1997, 108, 127; Ashraf 2024, 4, 35–36, 60–74; and Gleave 2005, 9; see also Bakhash 1971 and 1978, and Meredith 1971.

51 Baker 2013, 179. This type of garment in general was called *jubbi*; see Vogelsang-Eastwood 2010, 299.

52 Vogelsang-Eastwood and Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn 2002, 26.

53 Wills 1891, 319. See also Phillips 2015, 126.

54 Similar shawls are depicted in one of the scenes on a lacquer mirror case dated 1854 (1271 H) (MMA 2020.373a), which illustrates a diplomatic meeting between Nasir al-Din Mirza, future king of Iran, and Tsar Nicholas I in the Caucasus in 1838. A *khat-rāst* shawl featuring red and white stripes, a *muharramāt* shawl with white, red, and green stripes, a *shākh-i-gavaznī* shawl adorned with red and green stems set against a white or cream

background, and a shawl with a darker ground are depicted as part of Iranian diplomatic gifts to the Russians. For another example of exhibiting textiles spread out on flat boards or platforms, see Diba 2006, fig. 6.

55 The portrait showing Mirza Mohammad Taqi Khan is in the Malek Museum, Tehran, inv. 1393.02.00046. See also the portrait of Mirza Abd Allah Khan Mustufi Khassi by Abu'l Hasan Ghaffari, known as Sani' al-Mulk, 1847–48 (1263 H), in Gulistan Palace, Tehran, inv. 8564.

56 A significant example of such portraits is a group of seven oil paintings created in 1857–58 by the workshop of Abu'l Hasan Ghaffari (Sani' al-Mulk) for the Nizamiyi Palace in Tehran (now in Gulistan Palace, Tehran, inv. 8584–8590). They depict seventy-five prominent courtiers who wear robes of honor made from Kashmiri shawls.

57 See note 6 above. For the tactile experience of textiles in the Mughal court, see Houghteling 2017b.

58 According to Houchang Chehabi (2004, 209), states encouraged or enforced dress codes in premodern and modern times in various ways. In nineteenth-century Iran, dress codes aimed to "maintain distinctions among groups, and served as outward markers of ethnic, tribal, class, or religious identity," whereas twentieth-century sartorial policies concerned nationhood and functioned to make the public uniform in their outward international appearance.

59 For a theoretical framework, see Fletcher 2021, 1–3.

60 See Gell 1998, 9, 15–16, 21–22.

61 *Rūznama-yi Dulat-i 'Ilīyi-yi Iran* 1991–92, 389–92.

62 Ibid., 392–93. Mirza 'Ali Akbar Khan was an adjutant of the royal artillery (*ājūdānbāshī-yi tūpkhāni-yi mubāraki*). *Ajudan* or adjutant was a Qajar military rank lower than major (*yavar*) and higher than captain (*sultan*) in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Curzon 1892, 598.

63 For a parallel discussion of silk *khil'ats* in the Mughal context, see Houghteling 2017a, 142.

64 Although the diverse shawl designs for the Iranian market between the 1870s and 1900s are outside the scope of this study, they greatly require further technical investigation, visual classification, and historical contextualization.

65 See Amanat 1997, 18. For women's dress, see Scarce 2003, 132–81. For the European dress reception among men in Iran in the early twentieth century, see Balslev 2014.

66 Due to heavy taxation policies, decline in cultivation of crops, and famine, the shawl industry in Kashmir was replaced by silk production, and wool was used to manufacture other goods in the 1860s and 1870s. See Bellew 1875, 83, and Younghusband 1911, 176–82, 195, 210–11.

67 Floor 2013, 226–29.

68 Keddie 1971.

69 These shawls differed in pattern and color from their mid-nineteenth-century Kashmiri counterparts. They were most likely made in shawl-weaving centers in Iran, such as Kerman or Mashhad. They could also be contemporary high-end shawl imitations produced in Yazd.

70 Chehabi 1993; Baker 2013.

71 Baker 2013, 181. Within a few months the mandate was extended to all men in Iran. The effort was part of the Uniform Dress Law (*Qanun-i Muttahid al-Shikl Kardan-i Albasi-yi Atba'-i Iran dar Dakhili-yi Mamlikat*). See Devos 2006, 14–15.

REFERENCES

Ackerman, Phyllis

1964 "Persian Weaving Techniques." In *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, vol. 5, *The Art of the Book and Textiles*, edited by Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, 2175–220. London and New York: Oxford University Press.

Ahad, Abdul

1987 *Kashmir to Frankfurt: A Study of Arts and Crafts*. New Delhi: Rima Publishing House.

Ahmed, Monisha

2020 "The Pashmina Shawl: Continuity and Transformation from Ladakh to Kashmir, North India." In *Fashionable Traditions. Asian Handmade Textiles in Motion*, edited by Ayami Nakatani, 59–75. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Alam, Muzaffar, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam

2007 *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alder, Garry

1985 *Beyond Bokhara: The Life of William Moorcroft, Asian Explorer and Pioneer Veterinary Surgeon, 1767–1825*. London: Century Publishing.

Amanat, Abbas

1997 *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831–1896*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

2001 "The Kayanid Crown and Qajar Reclaiming of Royal Authority." *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1–4, 17–30.

2017 *Iran: A Modern History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ames, Frank

1997 *The Kashmir Shawl and Its Indo-French Influence*. 3rd ed. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club.

2010 *Woven Masterpieces of Sikh Heritage: The Stylistic Development of the Kashmir Shawl under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1780–1839*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club.

Anavian, Rahim, and George Anavian

1975 *Royal Persian & Kashmir Brocades*. Edited by Tomoyuki Yamanobe; translated by Jack Halpern. Kyoto: Senshoku to Keikatsusha.

Ashraf, Assef

2016 "The Politics of Gift Exchange in Early Qajar Iran, 1785–1834." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 58, no. 2 (April): 550–76.

2024 *Making and Remaking Empire in Early Qajar Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baker, Patricia L.

1995 *Islamic Textiles*. London: British Museum Press.

2013 "Politics of Dress: The Dress Reform Laws of 1920/30s Iran." In *Languages of Dress in the Middle East*, edited by Nancy Lindisfarne-Tapper and Bruce Ingham, 178–92. Oxford and New York: Routledge. Originally published 1997.

Bakhash, Shaul

1971 "The Evolution of Qajar Bureaucracy: 1779–1879." *Middle Eastern Studies* 7, no. 2 (May): 139–68.

1978 *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform under the Qajars, 1858–1896*. London: Ithaca Press for the Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College.

Balslev, Sivan

2014 "Dressed for Success: Hegemonic Masculinity, Elite Men, and Westernisation in Iran, c. 1900–40." *Gender & History* 26, no. 3 (November): 545–64.

Bates, Charles Ellison
1873 *A Gazetteer of Kashmir and the Adjacent Districts of Kishtwa'r, Badrawa'r, Jamu', Naoshera, Pu'nch, and the Valley of the Kischen Ganga*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.

Beardsley, Grace, and Carla M. Sinopoli
2005 *Wrapped in Beauty: The Koelz Collection of Kashmiri Shawls*. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

Bellew, Henry Walter
1875 *Kashmir and Kashghar: A Narrative of the Journey of the Embassy to Kashghar in 1873–74*. London: Trübner.

Benjamin, Walter
2002 *The Arcades Project*. Pbk. ed. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Originally published 1999.

Biedermann, Zoltán, Anne Gerritsen, and Giorgio Riello, eds.
2018 *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bird, Isabella L. (Mrs. Bishop)
1891 *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan: Including a Summer in the Upper Karun Region and a Visit to the Nestorian Rayahs*. Vol. 1. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: John Murray.

Blau, Otto
1858 *Commercielle Zustände Persiens: Aus den Erfahrungen einer Reise im Sommer 1857*. Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei.

Brydges, Harford Jones
1834 *An Account of the Transactions of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the Years 1807–11*. Vol 1. London: James Bohn.

Buckingham, James Silk
1830 *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia, Including a Journey from Baghdad by Mount Zagros, to Hamadan, the Ancient Ecbatana, Researches in Ispahan and the Ruins of Persepolis. . . .* 2 vols. 2nd ed. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley.

Burnes, Alexander
1834 *Travels into Bokhara: Being the Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary, and Persia, . . . in the Years 1831, 1832, and 1833*. Vol. 1. London: John Murray.

Chandra, Moti
1989 "Kashmir Shawls." In *Handwoven Fabrics of India*, edited by Jasleen Dhamija and Jyotindra Jain, 60–70. Ahmedabad: Mapin.

Chehabi, Houchang E.
1993 "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes: Dress Codes and Nation Building under Reza Shah." *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3–4 (Summer–Autumn): 209–29.
2004 "Dress Codes for Men in Turkey and Iran." In *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Ataturk and Reza Shah*, edited by Touraj Atabaki and Erik Jan Zürcher, 209–37. London: I. B. Tauris.

Choudhury, Suchitra
2023 *Textile Orientalisms: Cashmere and Paisley Shawls in British Literature and Culture*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Cohen, Steven
2010 "The Use of Fine Goat Hair for the Production of Luxury Textiles: Its Origins and the Similarities and Differences of Its Use in Iran and India during the Reigns of the Safavid and Mughal Shahs." In *Carpets and Textiles in the Iranian World, 1400–1700: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the Ashmolean Museum on 30–31 August 2003*, edited by Jon Thompson, Daniel Shaffer, and Pirjetta Mildh, 124–41. Oxford: May Beattie Archive at the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford; Genoa: Bruschettini Foundation for Islamic and Asian Art.

Cohn, Bernard S.
1996 *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Curzon, George Nathaniel
1892 *Persia and the Persian Question*. Vol. 1. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

Daly, Suzanne
2011 *The Empire Inside: Indian Commodities in Victorian Domestic Novels*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
2018 "Paisley / Kashmir: Mapping the Imitation-Indian Shawl." In *Replication in the Long Nineteenth Century: Re-Makings and Reproductions*, edited by Julie F. Codell and Linda K. Hughes, 122–43. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Dehkhoda, Ali Akbar, Mohammad Mo'in, and Ja'far Shahidi
1998 *Lughatnama-yi Dehkhoda* 13. Tehran: Mu'assisi-yi Intisharat va Chap-i Danishgah-i Tehran.

Devos, Bianca
2006 *Kleidungspolitik in Iran: Die Durchsetzung der Kleidungsvorschriften für Männer unter Riżā Šāh*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.

Dhamija, Jasleen
1989 "Kashmir Shawls and Iranian Termeh." In *Handwoven Fabrics of India*, edited by Jasleen Dhamija and Jyotindra Jain, 71–77. Ahmedabad: Mapin.

Diba, Layla S.
2006 "Introducing Fath 'Ali Shah: Production and Dispersal of the *Shahanshahnama* Manuscripts." In *Shahnama Studies I*, edited by Charles P. Melville, 239–57. Cambridge: Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Cambridge.

Diba, Layla S., and Maryam Ekhtiar
1998 *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925*. Exh. cat. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with I. B. Tauris.

Drouville, Gaspard
1825 *Voyage en Perse, fait en 1812 et 1813*. Vol. 1. 2nd ed. Paris: Librairie Nationale et Étrangère.

Dupré, Adrien
1819 *Voyage en Perse, fait dans les années 1807, 1808 et 1809. . . .* Vol. 2. Paris: J. G. Dentu, Imprimeur-Libraire.

Falk, S. J.
1972 *Qajar Paintings: Persian Oil Paintings of the 18th & 19th Centuries*. London: Faber & Faber Limited and Sotheby Parke-Bernet Publications.

Fellinger, Gwenaëlle, and Carol Guillaume, eds.
2018 *L'Empire des Roses: Chefs-d'œuvre de l'art persan du XIX^e siècle*. Exh. cat. Ghent: Snoeck; Lens: Musée du Louvre-Lens.

Fletcher, Christopher
2021 "Introduction: Useful Things." In *Everyday Political Objects: From the Middle Ages to the Contemporary World*, edited by Christopher Fletcher, 1–12. London and New York: Routledge.

Floor, Willem
1999 *The Persian Textile Industry in Historical Perspective, 1500–1925*. Paris: Société d'histoire de l'Orient; Harmattan.
2013 "*Kelʿat*." In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 16, fasc. 3, edited by Ehsan Yarshater, 226–29. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Fontanier, Victor
1829 *Voyages en Orient, entrepris par ordre du gouvernement français, de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829*. Paris: Librairie Universelle, de P. Mongie Ainé.
Fowler, George
1841 *Three Years in Persia; with Travelling Adventures in Koordistan*. Vol. 2. London: Henry Colburn.
Ganjoor, Vidhu, and Buzz Burza
2009 *Kashmiri Shawls and Carpets*. 2nd ed. New Delhi: Samvedana Culture & Heritage Trust.
Gell, Alfred
1998 *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Gleave, Robert
2005 "Religion and Society in Qajar Iran: An Introduction." In *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*, edited by Robert Gleave, 1–18. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
Goetz, Hermann
1964 "The History of Persian Costume." In *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, vol. 5, *The Art of the Book and Textiles*, edited by Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, 2227–56. London and New York: Oxford University Press.
Golombek, Lisa
1988 "The Draped Universe of Islam." In *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World: Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2–4 April 1980*, edited by Priscilla P. Soucek, 25–38. University Park: Published for the College Art Association of America by the Pennsylvania State University Press.
Gordon, Stewart, ed.
2001 *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*. New York: Palgrave.
2003 *Robes of Honour: Khil'at in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Guy, John, Rosemary Crill, and Karun Thakar
2014 *Indian Textiles: The Karun Thakar Collection*. Munich: Prestel.
Hiner, Susan
2005 "Lust for 'Luxe': 'Cashmere Fever' in Nineteenth-Century France." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring–Summer): 76–98.
Houghteling, Sylvia W.
2017a "Sentiment in Silks: Safavid Figural Textiles in Mughal Courtly Culture." In *Affect, Emotion, and Subjectivity in Early Modern Muslim Empires*, edited by Kishwar Rizvi, 124–47. Leiden: Brill.
2017b "The Emperor's Humbler Clothes: Textures of Courtly Dress in Seventeenth-Century South Asia." *Ars Orientalis* 47: 91–116.
Irwin, John
1955 *Shawls: A Study in Indo-European Influence*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office and the Victoria and Albert Museum.
Isfahani, Mirza Habib
1885–86 "Farhang-i Pari Lughat-i Mushkil va Ta'birat-i Divan-i Albasi." In *Divan-i Albasi*, by Mahmoud Nezam Qari, 195–207. Istanbul: Ab al-Ziya.
Issawi, Charles
1971 *The Economic History of Iran, 1800–1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Jacqué, Jacqueline, and Anne-Rose Bringel, eds.
2009 *Rêve de cachemire, cachemires de rêve: Le châle imprimé, un joyau textile alsacien*. Exh. cat. Mulhouse: Musée de l'Impression sur Étoffes.
Karpinski, Caroline
1963 "Kashmir to Paisley." *MMAB*, n.s., 22, no. 3 (November): 116–23.
Keddie, Nikki R.
1971 "The Iranian Power Structure and Social Change, 1800–1969: An Overview." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 1 (January): 3–20.
Komaroff, Linda, ed.
2011 *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*. Exh. cat. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press.
Lambton, Ann K. S.
1977 "The Tribal Resurgence and the Decline of the Bureaucracy in Eighteenth Century Persia." In *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, edited by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, 108–29. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
Lévi-Strauss, Monique
1988 *The Cashmere Shawl*. Translated by Sara Harris. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
Lochrie, Maureen
1987 "The Paisley Shawl Industry." In *Scottish Textile History*, edited by John Butt and Kenneth Ponting, 95–111. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
Losty, Jeremiah P., and John Keay
2019 *Indian Life and People in the 19th Century: Company Paintings in the TAPI Collection*. Exh. cat., Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai. New Delhi: Lustre Press and Roli Books.
Lycklama à Nijeholt, Tinco Martinus
1874 *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Perse, dans la Mésopotamie, le Kurdistan, la Syrie, la Palestine et la Turquie, exécuté pendant les années 1865, 1866, 1867 et 1868*. Vol 3. Paris: Arthus Bertrand; Amsterdam: C. L. van Langenhuysen.
Malcolm, John
1845 *Sketches of Persia*. London: John Murray.
Maskiell, Michelle
2002 "Consuming Kashmir: Shawls and Empires, 1500–2000." *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (Spring): 27–65.
McConnell, Lucy Elizabeth
2020 "The Rise and Fall of the Paisley Shawl through the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Dress History* 4, no. 1 (Spring): 30–53. https://dresshistorians.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/JDH_Spring_2020.pdf.
Meredith, Colin
1971 "Early Qajar Administration: An Analysis of Its Development and Functions." *Iranian Studies* 4, no. 2/3 (Spring–Summer): 59–84.
Moorcroft, William, and George Trebeck
1841 *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, from 1819 to 1825*. Vol. 2. Compiled from original journals and correspondence by Horace Wilson. London: John Murray.
Morier, James Justinian
1812 *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the Years 1808 and 1809. . . .* London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.

1818 *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, between the Years 1810 and 1816. . . .* London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.

Murphy, Veronica

1988 *Kashmir Shawls*: *Woven Art & Cultural Document; a Unique Collection of Indian Drawings Illustrating the Production of Kashmir Shawls Commissioned for the 1867 Paris Exposition*. Exh. cat. London: Kyburg Limited.

Nemati, Parviz

2003 *Shawls of the East: From Kerman to Kashmir*. New York: PDN Publications.

Olivier, Guillaume Antoine

1807 *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse: Fait par ordre du Gouvernement, pendant les six premières années de la République*. Vol. 4. Paris: H. Agasse.

Parmu, Radha Krishna

1977 *A History of Sikh Rule in Kashmir, 1819–1846*. Srinagar, Kashmir: Government Press Srinagar.

Pauly, Sarah Buie

1975 "The Shawl: Its Context and Construction." In *The Kashmir Shawl: Yale University Art Gallery, February 12–April 6, 1975*, 7–22. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery.

Perkins, Justin

1843 *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Muhammedans*. Andover, MA: Allen, Morrill, & Wardwell.

Phillips, Amanda

2015 "Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma." In *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, edited by Marios Hadjianastasis, 111–38. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Polak, Jakob Eduard

1865 *Persien, das Land und seine Bewohner: Ethnographische Schilderungen*. Vol. 2. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.

Pottinger, Henry

1816 *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; Accompanied by a Geographical and Historical Account of Those Countries, with a Map*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.

Quaile, Sheilagh

2023 "Imitation and Piracy in Paisley Shawl Design, 1805–1870." *Journal of Design History* 36, no. 1 (March): 1–16.

Rawlinson, George

1898 *A Memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

Reath, Nancy Andrews, and Eleanor B. Sachs

1937 *Persian Textiles and Their Technique from the Sixth to the Eighteenth Centuries, Including a System for General Textile Classification*. New Haven: Published for Pennsylvania Museum of Art by Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

Rizvi, Janet

2006 "The Asian Trade in Kashmir Shawls." In *Textiles from India: The Global Trade; Papers Presented at a Conference on the Indian Textile Trade, Kolkata, 12–14 October 2003*, edited by Rosemary Crill, 81–98. Calcutta: Seagull Books.

2010 "The Kashmir Shawl: A Historical Study." In *Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion*, vol. 4, *South Asia and Southeast Asia*, edited by Jasleen Dhamija, 157–64. Oxford: Oxford University Press and Berg Publishers.

Rizvi, Janet, and Monisha Ahmed

2009 *Pashmina: The Kashmir Shawl and Beyond*. Mumbai: Marg Publications.

Rūznama-yi Dulat-i 'Ilīyi-yi Iran

1991–92 *Rūznama-yi Dulat-i 'Ilīyi-yi Iran*. Vol. 1. Tehran: Kitabkhana-yi Milli-yi Jumhuri-yi Islami-yi Iran.

Rūznama-yi Vaqay'-i Ittifaqiyyi

1994–95 *Rūznama-yi Vaqay'-i Ittifaqiyyi*. Vol. 1. Tehran: Kitabkhana-yi Milli-yi Jumhuri-yi Islami-yi Iran.

Scarce, Jennifer M.

2003 *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Sipihr, Muhammad Taqi Lisan al-Mulk

1998 *Nasikh al-Tawarikh. Tarikh-i Qajariyyi*. Vols. 1–2. Tehran: Asatir.

Smith, Robert Murdock

1880 *Persian Art*. South Kensington Museum Art Handbook. 2nd ed. London: Chapman & Hall.

Spurr, Jeffrey B.

2012 "The Kashmir Shawl: Style and Markets." In *Kashmir Shawls: The Tapi Collection*, edited by Steven Cohen, Rosemary Crill, Monique Lévi-Strauss, and Jeffrey B. Spurr, 28–65. Mumbai: Shoestring Publisher in association with Garden Silk Mills Limited.

St. John, Oliver B.

1876 "Narrative of a Journey through Baluchistan and Southern Persia [1872]." In *Eastern Persia: An Account of the Journey of the Persian Boundary Commission, 1870–71–72*, edited by Frederic J. Goldsmid, 1:18–115. London: Macmillan and Co.

Stillman, N. A.

1986 "Khil'a." In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 5, *Khe-Mahi*, edited by C. E. Bosworth et al., 6–7. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Sykes, Percy M.

1902 *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia; or, Eight Years in Iran*. London: John Murray.

Tancoigne, J. M.

1820 *A Narrative of a Journey into Persia, and Residence at Teheran: Containing a Descriptive Itinerary from Constantinople to the Persian Capital. . . .* Translated anonymously from the original French. London: William Wright.

Thakar, Karun, Rosemary Crill, Avalon Fotheringham, Sylvia Houghteling, and Steven Cohen

2021 *Indian Textiles: 1,000 Years of Art and Design*. Exh. cat. Washington, DC: George Washington University Museum and The Textile Museum.

Vali, Ali Khan

n.d. *Album of Photographs by Ali Khan Vali, Qajar*. Harvard University, Fine Arts Library. Accessed 22 June 2023. https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:8598325?n=84.

Vaziri Kermani, Ahmad Ali

1966–67 "Jughrafiya-yi Mamlikat-i Kerman," edited by Mohammad Ibrahim Bastani Parizi. *Farhang-i Iran Zamin* 14.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian

2010 "Iranian Urban Dress." In *Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion*, vol. 5, *Central and Southwest Asia*, edited by Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, 298–307. Oxford: Oxford University Press and Berg Publishers.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian M., and L. A. Ferydoun Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn

2002 *An Introduction to Qajar Era Dress*. Rotterdam: Barjesteh van Wallwijk van Doorn & Co's Uitgeversmaatschappij.

Wills, Charles James
1887 *Persia as It Is: Being Sketches of Modern Persian Life and Character*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington.
1891 *In the Land of the Lion and Sun; or, Modern Persia, Being Experiences of Life in Persia from 1866 to 1881*. New ed. London, New York, and Melbourne: Ward, Lock, and Co.
Wulff, Hans E.
1966 *The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Younghusband, Francis Edward
1911 *Kashmir*. London: Adam and Charles Black.
Zakariaie Kermani, Iman
2009 *Shal-hayi Tirmi-yi Kerman, Guzashti, Hal, Ayandi*. Tehran: Mu'assisi-yi Ta'lif, Tarjumi, va Nashr-i Asar-i Hunari "Matn."
Zoka, Yahya
1957–58 *Libas-i Zanan-i Iran, az Sadi-yi Sizdahum Hjri ta Imruz*. Tehran: Edari-yi Muzi-ha va Farhang-i Ammi; Idari-yi Kull-i Hunar-hayi Ziba-yi Kishvar.
2003 *Zindigi va Asar-i Ustad Sani' al-Mulk Abu'l Hasan Ghaffari*. Edited by Sirous Parham. Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Danishgahi; Sazman-i Miras-i Farhangi.
Zutshi, Chitralekha
2009 "'Designed for Eternity': Kashmiri Shawls, Empire, and Cultures of Production and Consumption in Mid-Victorian Britain." *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 2 (April): 420–40.
2014 *Kashmir's Contested Pasts: Narratives, Sacred Geographies, and the Historical Imagination*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Julius Caesar from the Heroes Tapestries at The Met Cloisters: Dye Analysis and Molecular Insights

RACHEL M. LACKNER, SHIRIN FOZI, KISOOK SUH

Northern Europe witnessed a dramatic surge in the production of tapestries in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Though few of these fragile textiles survive, and the extant works represent only fragments from the monumental cycles described in princely inventories, the existing corpus reflects a remarkable artistic practice that developed in close dialogue with the panel paintings and manuscripts of the time. The Heroes Tapestries at The Met Cloisters are among the most impressive examples of this tradition preserved today.[1] Though their precise patronage is unclear, they are undoubtedly linked to the courtly art produced for the Valois rulers of late medieval France and their peers.[2] Drawn from the literary concept of the Nine Heroes, or Nine Worthies, the tapestries depict a series of famous

Metropolitan Museum Journal, volume 59, 2024. Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with the University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1086/734024. © 2024 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

men, enthroned as exemplars of aristocratic ideals.[3] Elaborate architectural frames surrounding the Heroes are inhabited by lively figures representing guards, huntsmen, musicians, clergy, aristocratic women, and other denizens of the court. Woven for an elite commission about 1410–15, most likely in Paris, the Cloisters' hangings are all that remains of a series that probably comprised three tapestries, each showing three of the Nine Heroes and measuring about 14 feet in height and over 20 feet in length. They were acquired by the Museum in the form of nearly one hundred fragments in 1932–49 and were reconstituted soon after into the current set of four hangings, which include the almost complete Hebrew Heroes (168 × 250 in., with *Joshua* and *David* extant), two large sections of the Ancient Heroes (*Hector of Troy*, 165½ × 104 in., and *Julius Caesar*, 165½ × 93 11⁄16 in.), and one large section from the Christian Heroes (*King Arthur*, 168 × 117 in.).[4] Unlike their closest point of comparison, the Angers Apocalypse Tapestries from 1377 to 1382, the Heroes Tapestries are not identifiable in any textual documentation from the late Middle Ages. The objects themselves are thus their own unique primary source, and we must rely on the technical information gleaned from examination and material analysis for insights into their history and manufacture.

A conservation project launched in 2018 has offered an unparalleled opportunity to study the Heroes Tapestries. Among the most advanced approaches taken thus far is a molecular analysis of the organic dyes of the Julius Caesar Tapestry (*Caesar*) from the set (fig. 1). The main goal of this work has been to identify the original dyes used for the production of the tapestry. Knowledge of these materials can not only confirm authenticity, but also greatly refine our grasp of the techniques used to produce late medieval textiles. By helping us better understand the artists' intentions in selecting colors, this technique may eventually enable the virtual reconstruction of the original colors, even in areas that have faded dramatically. This possibility is especially significant in the case of *Caesar*, which includes a turbaned harpist with dark skin in the upper left corner. While several figures in the tapestries present ethnically coded details such as forked beards, hooked noses, or exotic hats, and several require further analysis, the musician is at present the only clearly identifiable Black figure in the Heroes Tapestries. Black figures are vanishingly rare in medieval tapestries, almost exclusively found in depictions of the African King among the Three Magi, making the depiction of a Black musician as a member of a princely court especially noteworthy.[5] It is therefore particularly pressing to analyze the dye used for his skin, and for skin elsewhere in the tapestry, to confirm that the musician's distinct appearance is not discoloration, but rather an intentional and integral aspect of how his race was represented. This detail is thus one of the focal points of the present study, within the larger goal of evaluating the dyes used across the tapestry as a whole. Finally, dye analysis may help determine necessary conservation treatments or strategies for preventive care. As tapestries age, with noticeable fading of colors, natural fibers degrade and become physically weakened; certain dyeing techniques can accelerate this process, resulting in serious condition issues like embrittlement, detachment, and loss. Identifying such patterns and finding solutions to stabilize the affected areas and prevent further damage is therefore a primary concern.

A detailed history of any textile, especially its previous physical interventions or chemical treatments, would help in the interpretation of dye analysis, but unfortunately little is known about the Heroes Tapestries before their acquisition for The Cloisters. Fragments from the series were acquired by Baron Arthur de Schickler of Château Martinvast, Normandy, in the early 1870s. Though there were also earlier interventions, it was probably at Martinvast that the fragments were shaped into five window curtains.[6] Additional changes may have occurred before the fragments were sold in 1936 and finally purchased for The Cloisters through the Brummer Gallery in Paris and New York.[7] Upon acquisition in 1947, the fragments were rearranged to the current configuration by four women (described as "needlewomen" in the archival documents) under the direction of curators James Rorimer and Margaret Freeman.[8] It was about this time that the disassembled fragments were "washed individually with soap and water on specially prepared stretchers."[9] The work of the late 1940s resulted in the current four tapestry hangings. *Caesar* is the only tapestry from the set with a recorded history of fumigation, once in April 1953 with "hydro-cyanic gas" and again in November 1984 with ethylene oxide.[10] Full documentation began in 1998 with a condition check undertaken during renovations at The Cloisters.[11] Included within this documentation is a treatment record of the local consolidation of areas damaged by insect infestation in 1985 in the Department of Textile Conservation. This history of infestation and fumigation may explain the state of *Caesar*, which has more condition issues than the other hangings from the series. Most recently, *Caesar* was cleaned with a non-ionic detergent and deionized water in December 2022.[12]

fig. 1 Julius Caesar Tapestry (from the Heroes Tapestries) before conservation treatment. Wool warp, wool wefts, overall 165½ × 93¹¹⁄₁₆ in. (420.5 × 238 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1947 (47.101.3)

fig. 2 A pair of two single yarns used for the weft without plying, in combination of similar colors and in contrasting colors (red and navy) as well. In this view the warp runs horizontally under the surface of the tapestry and is noticeable with its rib effect.

SELECTING AREAS FOR SAMPLING DYES: ORIGINAL MATERIALS AND LATER INTERVENTIONS

Given the age and fragility of the Heroes Tapestries, it is unsurprising that there have been many restoration campaigns over the centuries. Postmedieval changes are generally identifiable by the color and texture of yarns and stitching threads that differ from the originals. In addition to visual differences, the engagement of later materials with the original weaving structure often presents obvious discrepancies. Particularly skillful interventions are not clearly distinguishable from the original, however, and the large dimensions of the Heroes Tapestries make such examination challenging. Techniques such as photomicrography and multiband imaging (MBI) are therefore useful, enhancing the precision and efficiency of examination.[13]

Using a technique also observed in the other Heroes Tapestries, the weavers paired two strands of dyed (or occasionally undyed) single wool yarns without plying for the weft of *Caesar*. The paired yarns could be identical or presenting two similar or contrasting colors (fig. 2). Because the warps are undyed, only weft yarns were sampled. In addition to original wefts from across all six fragments that constitute *Caesar*, including the skin color of the Black musician, samples from a few postmedieval areas of particular interest were taken to gain insight into the later history of the tapestry. These include the rewoven imperial eagle on Caesar's shield, remnants of red overpaint, and selected areas of repairs in dark blue.

NON-INVASIVE AND MICRO-INVASIVE TECHNIQUES

Given that the removal of microscopic samples is required to examine organic colorants with a high level of molecular detail, the potential for gaining information via invasive methods must be balanced against the perceived harms of sampling. Non-invasive techniques, including fiber optics reflectance spectroscopy (FORS) or excitation-emission matrix fluorescence spectroscopy (EEM), can be performed directly on the surface of the object but cannot identify mixtures or differentiate between similar dyes of a particular class.[14] Micro-invasive techniques, such as surface-enhanced Raman spectroscopy (SERS) or liquid chromatography-mass spectrometry (LC-MS), can differentiate within a dye class but require samples that range from the one-hundredth of a millimeter (SERS) to millimeter (LC-MS) scale.[15] These techniques may allow species-level identification of natural dye sources.[16] When combined with highly accurate mass capabilities, LC-MS can identify unknowns even if reference materials are unavailable.

Non-invasive and micro-invasive techniques can be used separately or combined for a multi-analytical approach. For example, FORS can identify clusters of areas with similar spectral profiles. Selecting a subset of these clusters for micro-invasive analysis reduces the number and size of samples necessary. Multiband imaging (MBI) is another example of non-invasive imaging that can be useful in mapping different characters of materials. In some cases, this technique can detect differences between two areas that may appear identical to the unaided eye, helping us to select one or both for further analysis.[17]

Considering the importance and rarity of a medieval textile on the scale of *Caesar*, LC-MS was determined to be the most appropriate analytical approach.

DYE ANALYSIS

Dyes were analyzed by liquid chromatography-quadrupole time-of-flight mass spectrometry (LC-qToF-MS). The results are summarized in the Appendix.[18]

Primary colors observed in the original tapestry consist of madder (red), weld or dyer's broom (yellow), and an indigotin-containing dye, likely woad (blue). Browns were derived from a variety of plant sources, including hydrolysable tannins and walnuts. Secondary colors (green, orange) reflect a combination of dye sources, except for pink, which was most likely produced using orchil.

In the case of the red dyes, alizarin and purpurin are the major colorants in each sample, indicating the use of dyer's madder (*Rubia tinctorum* L.), a plant grown throughout Europe since at least the ninth century, when Charlemagne is said to have encouraged its cultivation.[19] Medieval farmers commonly grew madder in fallow fields during crop rotation.[20] Higher alizarin content distinguishes dyer's madder from wild

madder (*Rubia peregrina* L.), a similar European dye plant that contains alizarin only in trace amounts.[21]

The yellow areas contain luteolin and several of its glycosides. Luteolin is the major component of both dyer's broom (*Genista tinctoria* L.) and weld (*Reseda luteola* L.), two key yellow dye sources, with dyer's broom especially popular in medieval England.[22] The presence of genistein (a marker for dyer's broom) in a subset of samples suggests that some of the yellow dyes derive from dyer's broom and others from weld.[23] There is precedent for finding both in medieval textiles.[24] Their use in similar areas across the composition is nevertheless intriguing, as dyer's broom was thought to be less powerful and of lower quality than weld.[25]

The major component of the blue dye is indigotin. Though various indigotin-containing dyes are chemically similar, these areas were most likely dyed with woad (*Isatis tinctoria* L.), which was widely used before its gradual replacement in Europe by Indian indigo (*Indigofera tinctoria* L.) beginning in the mid-sixteenth century.[26]

The presence of two chemical markers, α-amino orcein and α-hydroxy orcein, in a faded pink sample indicates the use of orchil, a light-sensitive dye derived from lichen. Production involved fermenting an appropriate species of lichen in ammonia over several months.[27] Orchil dye was known in the ancient Mediterranean, but the recipe was supposedly lost for centuries before its thirteenth-century rediscovery in Florence.[28] An Italian monopoly on orchil was likely still in place when the tapestry was woven.[29] This suggests the source may have been a *Roccella* species, such as *Roccella tinctoria*, though the dye is too faded to determine with certainty.

The variability in the brown dyes is a testament to the medieval ability to produce a range of shades from limited natural sources. The reddish-brown dyes are proposed to be derived from walnut (*Juglans regia* L.), based on the similarity of the colorants to those from a reference material dyed with walnut shells.[30]

Hydrolysable tannins, such as ellagic acid or an *O*-methyl ellagic acid derivative, were detected in the beige and light brown sections. These colorants derive from vegetal sources, most commonly gallnuts (such as those from *Quercus infectoria*) but also bark from various species of oak (*Quercus* spp.) or chestnut (*Castanea* spp.). In the absence of mordant, tannins typically give lighter, beige shades, but combined with iron mordants yield darker grays and blacks. The combination of iron mordant and gall dyes often leads to degradation of the fiber, which may explain why many of the dark brown areas of the tapestry show severe degradation and loss.[31]

In addition to hydrolysable tannins, madder, and a luteolin-based dye (either weld or dyer's broom), several dark brown samples contain lichen-specific molecules not yet reported in a historical object. Lichens have long been used as dyes and mordants,[32] but to our knowledge the only lichen colorants definitively identified in historical objects have been from orchil.[33] One of the detected molecules, thiophanic acid, is thought to function as protection against ultraviolet radiation for certain crustose lichen species. The in-depth analysis of the lichen dye source is the subject of a separate study,[34] but at present we may suggest that the tapestry contains the earliest evidence of a non-orchil lichen dye in a historical object.

DETAILS IN FOCUS: BLACK MUSICIAN, IMPERIAL EAGLE, RED OVERPAINT, AND BLUE RESTORATION

The Black musician appears to have a darker skin tone than the other figures, and wears a turban that evokes those from Islamic North Africa (fig. 3). A major goal of the dye analysis was to establish if the darker tone of the skin was intentional, and not the result of color degradation or variations in the wool. Samples from the face of the Black musician (Fragment One; see image accompanying Table in Appendix) were therefore

fig. 3 Detail of the Black musician before conservation treatment

fig. 4 Julius Caesar's "imperial shield" with double-headed eagle. Almost the entire design of the eagle originally in dark brown was rewoven. The rewoven areas have since faded to light brown, perhaps due to the use of light-sensitive dyes.

fig. 5 Detail of double-headed eagle, showing the contrast of faded brown and the remnants of original dark brown at tip of the feather design

compared to another figure in Fragment Five. Ellagic acid and *O*-methyl ellagic acid were detected in the face in Fragment One but not in Fragment Five, which appears to be composed of undyed wool (see Appendix). We may now propose that distinctive dyes were used to produce the musician's skin color, affirming the intentional inclusion of a Black man among the attendants at this idealized court of the early fifteenth century.

The imperial double-headed eagle, the heraldic device that identifies the central figure as Julius Caesar, was almost entirely rewoven and has faded to a light brown that contrasts with the original remnants of dark brown yarns at the edges of the design (figs. 4, 5). The faded dyes were identified as orchil, based on major (α-amino orcein and α-hydroxy orcein) and minor colorants (β/γ-hydroxy orcein, β/γ-amino orcein, and β/γ-amino orceimine), and indigo carmine, based on the presence of indigotindisulfonic acid and its degradation product, isatin sulfonic acid. Discovered in 1743, indigo carmine is a "semi-synthetic" dye that was originally made by treating natural indigo with sulfuric acid.[35] This intervention likely took place after 1770, when indigo carmine became commercially available. Both orchil and indigo carmine have notably poor lightfastness, and their combined use explains the dramatic fading of the rewoven eagle. Though the combination of indigo and orchil is not uncommon, the co-occurrence of indigo carmine and orchil places this intervention on the cusp of a transition between natural and synthetic dyes.[36]

The unusual presence of red overpaint suggests two generations of interventions: first, the use of yarn dyed with a light-sensitive colorant for repairs, and later, overpainting to hide fading. Picric acid (PA) was the major component identified in these areas.[37] Alizarin and purpurin are also present in minor amounts (possibly due to contamination from adjacent, original red yarns) along with two fugitive synthetic dyes. These are proposed to be Sudan I (invented 1883) and Yellow 2G (invented 1908), placing the later intervention in the twentieth century, perhaps performed while the tapestries belonged to the Brummer Gallery.[38] Organic colorant analysis cannot determine the order in which multiple dyes were introduced, but one or more synthetic dyes are likely responsible for the initial fading. This condition may have been addressed by overpainting with a red dye such as Sudan I, either on its own or in combination with additional synthetic dyes.

Finally, three areas of repair with blue yarns were selected with assistance from visible-induced luminescence (VIL) imaging to be analyzed,[39] as they are difficult to distinguish from the original and are spread all over the tapestry. Many repaired areas in dark blue and turquoise were mapped with identical luminescence in VIL across the tapestry (fig. 6). Indigo carmine was identified as the major component of the turquoise repair in Fragment 3.

The two dark blue repairs selected by VIL gave poor extraction efficiency, and may suggest the use of a modern synthetic dye (or dyes) designed for high washfastness, but this potentiality has yet to be investigated. In addition to possible synthetic dyes, madder and an indigoid dye were detected in both dark blue repairs, and trace luteolin was present in the dark blue from Fragment 3. Without additional experimentation, it is not currently possible to determine if natural dyes were combined with a synthetic dye for the repair yarns or if these components are contamination from adjacent yarns.

Although we have demonstrated that MBI can differentiate areas of repairs and original weaving, it is not a sufficient substitute for dye analysis. Instead, MBI may complement visual observations when selecting areas for sampling. As demonstrated here, areas with similar VIL characteristics can have distinct chemical profiles. Additional in-depth technical study is necessary to fully understand these results beyond simply distinguishing between original tapestry and areas of repair.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of the present dye analysis, there is no evidence to suggest the assembled fragments of the Heroes Tapestries do not belong together or that they were not woven in northern Europe in the early fifteenth century. The results do indicate, however, that the tapestry workshop relied on trade networks for access to dyes, such as English dyer's broom and Florentine orchil, that were particular to certain regions and, in the case of orchil, the fiercely guarded secret of

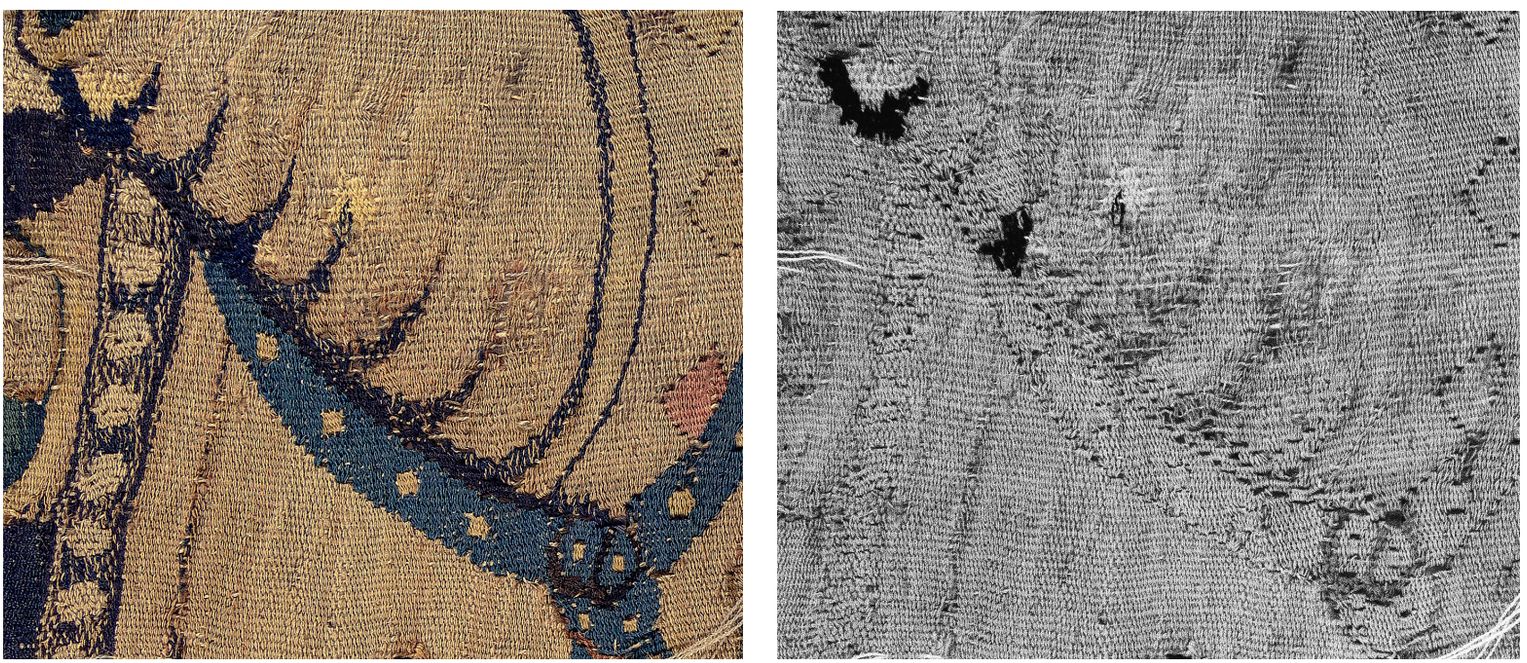

fig. 6 An area of the tapestry under visible light (left) and in a visible-induced luminescence (VIL) image (right). Previous repairs, though discreetly executed, can be detected easily in the VIL image. Materials used for repairs appear much darker in contrast with the original, which appear even and light gray.

a small circle. Tantalizingly, some of the results point to as-yet-unidentified materials, such as the obscure lichen source present in the dark brown yarn. Though future research may help localize these materials further, the preliminary findings confirm that the makers of the Heroes Tapestries were highly discerning in their selection of colors to produce a glamorous projection of courtly life. Though the tapestry lacks the silk or metallic threads associated with the most lavish textiles of the time, the use of imported dyes was likewise a marker of prestige, linking the tapestry's patron to the circulation of foreign luxuries across extensive trade routes. The materials echo the tapestry's visualization of a cosmopolitan and globally networked princely court, exemplified in the presence of the Black musician, as well as in costumes and attributes across the entire Heroes cycle, especially the Nine Heroes.

The identification of the dye components also confirms observations made during examination concerning the characteristics of the aged materials, most importantly in the case of the extremely fragile condition of the dark brown yarns, which may have been the result of the use of mordants during the dyeing process. Extra caution must therefore be taken in choosing the least interventive treatment methods.

Though *Caesar* is the second of the four existing Heroes Tapestry hangings to be treated in the long-term conservation campaign that began in 2018, it is the first to undergo a thorough dye analysis using the powerful and highly sensitive LC-MS technique discussed here.[40] It is expected that the findings will be further enriched as the other hangings are studied in turn and additional samples are taken and analyzed. For instance, it is well known that the Heroes Tapestry hanging depicting Hector of Troy (*Hector*) was once part of the same monumental tapestry as *Caesar*, and a comparison of dye analyses of *Hector* should provide points of continuity and variation in materials and techniques. The present study is the first step of a large undertaking, one that demonstrates the enormous potential of analytic techniques and approaches that are still in a pioneering phase.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We gratefully acknowledge the many colleagues at The Metropolitan Museum of Art who made fundamental contributions to the work presented here, including Janina Poskrobko, Conservator in Charge, Kathrin Colburn, Conservator, Anna Szalecki, former Associate Conservator, and Ligia Fernandez, Associate Conservator, Department of Textile Conservation; C. Griffith Mann, Michel David-Weill Curator in Charge, Barbara Boehm, Paul and Jill Ruddock Curator Emerita, Christine E. Brennan, Provenance Researcher and Collections Manager, Amelia Roché Hyde, Research Assistant, Jeff Elliot, Principal Departmental Technician, Andrew Winslow, Principal Departmental Technician, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters; Marco Leona, David H. Koch Scientist in Charge, Nobuko Shibayama, Research Scientist, and Maria Mieites Alonso, Associate Laboratory Coordinator, Department of Scientific Research; and Elizabeth Cleland, Curator, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. The conservation of the Julius Caesar Tapestry was made possible by a generous gift from Sir Paul Ruddock and Lady Ruddock.

RACHEL M. LACKNER
Fellow, Department of Scientific Research, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

SHIRIN FOZI
Paul and Jill Ruddock Associate Curator, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

KISOOK SUH
Conservator, Department of Textile Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

NOTES

1 The Heroes Tapestries: MMA 32.130.3a, b; 47.101.1–5; 47.152; 49.123.

2 The Heroes Tapestries have long been compared to the Belles Heures of Jean de France, duc de Berry (MMA 54.1.1a-b), and other manuscripts from this generation. See Freeman 1956, 101–2.

3 Schroeder 1971; Favier 2003.

4 Rorimer and Freeman 1960; Cavallo 1993, 14, 94–124, figs. 88–92. Though no additional fragments are known to exist outside the ones in The Met, there are additional fragments that were not assembled to the current four tapestry hangings. They are not currently on view; see MMA 47.101.5a–c and 49.123.

5 For a South Netherlandish example from about 1500, see MMA 15.121.1a.

6 Rorimer and Freeman 1960, 4.

7 Brennan 2015, fig. 8.

8 Hyde 2022.

9 Rorimer and Freeman 1960, 4.

10 According to the records of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, the fumigation of April 1953 was performed by the rug-cleaning department of Atlas Storage Company. We thank Amelia Hyde for this information. Documentation regarding the November 1984 treatment in a "fumigation chamber" is contained in the records of the Department of Textile Conservation.

11 This overall condition check, documented with 35mm transparency slides, was undertaken by Kathrin Colburn, Conservator, Department of Textile Conservation.

12 A non-ionic surfactant was chosen for its efficiency and biodegradability after testing with other surfactants by Anna Szalecki, then Associate Conservator, Department of Textile Conservation. The wet cleaning process was filmed and posted on https://www.instagram.com/reel/CqsuglcvU6N/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link.

13 Suh 2018.

14 Gulmini et al. 2013.

15 Casadio et al. 2010; Pozzi and Leona 2016; Cesaratto, Leona, and Pozzi 2019.

16 Troalen et al. 2014; Calà et al. 2019; Lech 2020.

17 Suh 2018, 87–89.

18 Small yarn samples from the tapestry (approx. 1–5 mm) were extracted with 40 µl of a 0.01 M oxalic acid (aqueous), pyridine/methanol solution (3:3:4 v/v/v) in a 6 x 50 mm glass test tube. The yarn sample was left in the mixture for 30 minutes at room temperature, then heated at 55–60°C for 30 minutes. The extract was removed to a microcentrifuge tube, and the test tube was rinsed with 40 µl of methanol; the rinsing solution was also added to the microcentrifuge tube. Then 60 µl of the extraction mixture was added to the test tube, heated at 90–100°C for 10 minutes, cooled, and this extract was then moved to the same microcentrifuge tube. The test tube was rinsed with 40 µl of methanol, and the rinsing solution was also added to the microcentrifuge tube. The extract in the microcentrifuge tube was dried in a vacuum desiccator using a water aspirator or evaporated using an SP Genevac EZ-2 4.0 centrifugal evaporator. The residue was reconstituted by adding 4 µl DMF, followed by 16 µL of 0.1% formic acid in water. The tube was then centrifuged at 12,000 g for 10 minutes, and 20 µL of supernatant was moved to an insert of an autosampler vial. 8 µL of solution was then injected into the LC-MS system. This extraction method is slightly modified from the process described in Mouri and Laursen 2011. All commercially available reagents and solvents were used as received. All solvents are of analytical or LC-MS grade. High-purity water was provided by a Mili-Q® water purification system.

The LC-qToF-MS system consists of a Bruker Impact II quadrupole time-of-flight mass spectrometer with an electrospray ionization source (Billerica, MA) and a NexeraXR high performance liquid chromatograph with two LC-20ADxr HPLC pumps, HPLC gradient mixer, SPDM30A diode array detector, CTO-20AC column oven, DGU-20A5R degassing unit, SIL-20ACxr autosampler, and CBS-20A communications bus module (Shimadzu, Columbia, MD).

A Zorbax SB-C18 reversed-phase column (3.5 µm-particle size, 2.1 mm I.D. × 150.0 mm, Agilent Technologies, Santa Clara, CA) was used with a Zorbax SB-C18 guard column (3.5 µm-particle size, 2.0 mm I.D. × 15.0 mm, Agilent Technologies, Santa Clara, CA). To the guard column was attached a pre-filter (Upchurch ultra-low Volume pre-column filter with 0.5 µm stainless steel frit, Sigma-Aldrich, St. Louis, MO). Chromatography was performed at a flow rate of 0.2 mL/min and a column temperature of 40 °C, with a gradient of 0.1% formic acid in Milli-Q water (mobile phase A) and 0.1% formic acid in methanol/acetonitrile (1:1, v/v) (mobile phase B). The gradient system was as follows: initial conditions 90% A for 1 minute, a linear slope from 90% to 60% A over 6 minutes, a second linear slope from 60% to 1% A over 23 minutes, holding at 1% A over 3 minutes, then a linear slope to return to 90% A over 1 minute, and holding at 90% A for 18 minutes.

19 Cardon 2007, 108–21.

20 Leggett 1944, 8–9.

21 Hofenk de Graaff, Roelofs, and Van Bommel 2004, 92–110.

22 Cardon 2007, 180.

23 Hofenk de Graaff, Roelofs, and Van Bommel 2004, 214–27; Lech 2020.

24 Colburn 2010; Carò et al. 2014; Cardon 2016. Dyer's broom could also be combined with weld, but due to the similarity in composition, this is difficult to determine.

25 Troalen et al. 2014.

26 Leggett 1944; Munro 2003.

27 Casselman 2001.

28 Kok 1966.

29 Fairlie 1965; Perkins 1986.

30 Juglone, a chemical marker found in fresh walnut species, was not detected in the samples taken from the tapestry or in the reference material. However, there is precedent for this marker to be absent from chemical analysis of extracts from *Juglans* species or walnut-dyed fabrics, as juglone is prone to reacting with itself or other compounds (see Degano et al. 2019).

31 Cardon 2007, 407–22.

32 Casselman 2001, 41.

33 Calà et al. 2019; Serafini et al. 2019.

34 Lackner et al. 2024.

35 Keijzer et al. 2012.

36 Witkowski et al. 2017.

37 Many samples of the original tapestry also contain trace amounts of PA, an early synthetic dye discovered in 1771. According to departmental records, Proctor & Gamble's Ivory soap, which is mildly alkaline, was the primary soap used for textile cleaning at least through the late 1960s (see The

Cloisters Institutional & Administrative Records; The Cloisters Library and Archives, MMA). Cleaning with an alkaline detergent may have solubilized some of the PA, allowing it to spread. If the tapestry was not properly rinsed after an earlier cleaning (see Kajitani 1989), picric acid may remain detectable on the surface of the tapestry.

38 See The Colour Index™ (https://colour-index.com) published online by Society of Dyers and Colourists and American Association of Textile Chemists and Colorists.

39 Visible-induced luminescence (VIL) imaging is one of the multi-band imaging (MBI) techniques. The technique has been effectively used to detect several pigments, including Egyptian blue, in the field of art conservation. See Chiari et al. 2020.

40 The first tapestry to undergo conservation treatment as part of this campaign was *King Arthur* (MMA.32.130.3a; MMA.47.101.4), beginning in 2018. Conservation treatment of *Caesar* started in 2022 and is scheduled for completion in 2025.

REFERENCES

Brennan, Christine E.
2015 "The Brummer Gallery and the Business of Art." *Journal of the History of Collections* 27, no. 3 (November): 455–68.

Calà, Elisa, Marcello Benzi, Fabio Gosetti, Andrea Zanin, Monica Gulmini, Ambra Idone, Ilaria Serafini, Alessandro Ciccola, Roberta Curini, Isabella Whitworth, and Maurizio Aceto
2019 "Towards the Identification of the Lichen Species in Historical Orchil Dyes by HPLC-MS/MS." *Microchemical Journal* 150 (November 1). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.microc.2019.104140.

Cardon, Dominique
2007 *Natural Dyes: Sources, Tradition, Technology and Science*. Translated by Caroline Higgitt. London: Archetype Publications.
2016 as ed. and trans. *The Dyer's Handbook: Memoirs on Dyeing; by a French Gentleman-Clothier in the Age of Enlightenment*. Ancient Textiles Series 26. Oxford: Oxbow Books. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvh1drp8.

Carò, Federico, Giulia Chiostrini, Elizabeth Cleland, and Nobuko Shibayama
2014 "Redeeming Pieter Coecke van Aelst's *Gluttony* Tapestry: Learning from Scientific Analysis." *MMJ* 49:151–64.

Casadio, Francesca, Marco Leona, John R. Lombardi, and Richard Van Duyne
2010 "Identification of Organic Colorants in Fibers, Paints, and Glazes by Surface Enhanced Raman Spectroscopy." *Accounts of Chemical Research* 46, no. 6, 782–91. http://dx.doi.org/10.1021/ar100019q.

Casselman, Karen Diadick
2001 *Lichen Dyes: The New Source Book*. 2nd rev. ed. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Cavallo, Adolfo Salvatore
1993 *Medieval Tapestries in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: MMA.

Cesaratto, Anna, Marco Leona, and Federica Pozzi
2019 "Recent Advances on the Analysis of Polychrome Works of Art: SERS of Synthetic Colorants and Their Mixtures with Natural Dyes." *Frontiers in Chemistry* 7 (March 4). https://doi.org/10.3389/fchem.2019.00105.

Chiari, Giacomo, Dawn Lohnas Kriss, Caroline I. Roberts, Anna Serotta, and Marie Svoboda
2020 "Visible Visible-Induced Luminescence Imaging: Past, Current, and Future Applications in Conservation Research." *Research and Technical Studies Specialty Group Postprints* 6:146–75. https://www.culturalheritage.org/docs/default-source/publications/periodicals/research-and-technical-studies-group/rats-postprints-vol-6-2015-2018.pdf?sfvrsn=c59e0a20_16.

Colburn, Kathrin
2010 "Three Fragments of the *Mystic Capture of the Unicorn* Tapestry." *MMJ* 45:97–106.

Degano, Ilaria, Marco Mattonai, Francesca Sabatini, and Maria Perla Colombini
2019 "A Mass Spectrometric Study on Tannin Degradation within Dyed Woolen Yarns." *Molecules* 24, no. 12, 2318. https://doi.org/10.3390/molecules24122318.

Fairlie, Susan
1965 "Dyestuffs in the Eighteenth Century." *Economic History Review*, n.s., 17, no. 3, 488–510.

Favier, Jean, ed.
2003 *Un rêve de chevalerie: Les Neuf Preux*. Exh. cat., Château de Langeais. Paris: Institut de France.

Freeman, Margaret B.
1956 "A Book of Hours Made for the Duke of Berry." *MMAB* 115, no. 4, 93–104.

Gulmini, Monica, A. Idone, E. Diana, D. Gastaldi, D. Vaudan, and M. Aceto
2013 "Identification of Dyestuffs in Historical Textiles: Strong and Weak Points of a Non-Invasive Approach." *Dyes and Pigments* 98, no. 1 (July): 136–45. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dyepig.2013.02.010.

Hofenk de Graaff, Judith, Wilma G. Th. Roelofs, and Maarten R. van Bommel
2004 *The Colourful Past: Origins, Chemistry, and Identification of Natural Dyestuffs*. Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung; London: Archetype Publications.

Hyde, Amelia Roché
2022 "The Heroines of *Heroes*: After World War II, Four Museum Employees Restored a Set of Beloved Medieval Tapestries." MMA, Perspectives: Women's History. https://www.metmuseum.org/perspectives/articles/2022/3/heroines-of-heroes.

Kajitani, Nobuko
1989 "Conservation Maintenance of Tapestries at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987." In *The Conservation of Tapestries and Embroideries: Proceedings of Meetings at the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels, Belgium, September 21–24, 1987,* edited by Kirsten Grimstad, 53–66. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Keijzer, Matthijs de, Maarten R. van Bommel, Regina Hofmann-de Keijzer, Regina Knaller, and Edith Oberhumer
2012 "Indigo Carmine: Understanding a Problematic Blue Dye." *Studies in Conservation* 57, suppl. 1:S87–S95. http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/2047058412Y.0000000058.

Kok, Annette
1966 "A Short History of the Orchil Dyes." *The Lichenologist* 3, no. 2, 248–72. https://doi.org/10.1017/S002428296600029X.

Lackner, Rachel M., Solenn Ferron, Joël Boustie, Françoise Le Devehat, H. Thorsten Lumbsch, Nobuko Shibayama
2024 "Unraveling a Historical Mystery: Identification of a Lichen Dye Source in a Fifteenth Century Medieval Tapestry." *Heritage* 7, no. 5 (May 1): 2370–84. https://www.mdpi.com/2571-9408/7/5/112.

Lech, Katarzyna
2020 "Universal Analytical Method for Characterization of Yellow and Related Natural Dyes in Liturgical Vestments from Krakow." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 46:108–18. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2020.04.011.

Leggett, William F.
1944 *Ancient and Medieval Dyes*. Brooklyn: Chemical Publishing Company.

Mouri, Chika, and Richard Laursen
2011 "Identification and Partial Characterization of C-glycosylflavone Markers in Asian Plant Dyes Using Liquid Chromatography–Tandem Mass Spectrometry." *Journal of Chromatography A* 1218, no. 41, 7325–30. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chroma.2011.08.048.

Munro, John H. A.
2003 "Medieval Woollens: Textiles, Textile Technology, and Industrial Organisation, c. 800–1500." In *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, edited by David Jenkins, 1:181–227. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Perkins, Patricia
1986 "Ecology, Beauty, Profits: Trade in Lichen-Based Dyestuffs through Western History." *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists* 102, no. 7–8 (July): 221–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-4408.1986.tb01073.x.

Pozzi, Federica, and Marco Leona
2016 "Surface-Enhanced Raman Spectroscopy in Art and Archaeology." *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 47, no. 1, 67–77. https://doi.org/10.1002/jrs.4827.

Rorimer, James J., and Margaret B. Freeman
1960 *The Nine Heroes Tapestries at The Cloisters*. Reprint ed. New York: MMA. Originally published 1953.

Schroeder, Horst
1971 *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und Bildender Kunst*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Serafini, Ilaria, Livia Lombardi, Claudia Fasolato, Manuel Sergi, Francesca Di Ottavio, Fabio Sciubba, Camilla Montesano, Marcella Guiso, Rita Costanza, Lucia Nucci, Roberta Curini, Paolo Postorino, Maurizio Bruno, and Armandodoriano Bianco
2019 "A New Multi Analytical Approach for the Identification of Synthetic and Natural Dyes Mixtures: The Case of Orcein-Mauveine Mixture in a Historical Dress of a Sicilian Noblewoman of Nineteenth Century." *Natural Product Research* 33, no. 7, 1040–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/14786419.2017.1342643.

Suh, Kisook
2018 "Application of Multispectral/Multiband Imaging in the Practice of Textile Conservation: Documentation, Investigation, and Communication." In *Textile Specialty Group Postprints, American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works 46th Annual Meeting*, 83–96. Houston, TX, and Washington, DC: A.I.C.

Troalen, Lore G., Ashley S. Phillips, David A. Peggie, Perdita E. Barran, and Alison N. Hulme
2014 "Historical Textile Dyeing with *Genista Tinctoria* L.: A Comprehensive Study by UPLC-MS/MS Analysis." *Analytical Methods* 6:8915–23. https://doi.org/10.1039/C4AY01509F.

Witkowski, Bartłomiej, Monika Ganeczko, Helena Hryszko, Monika Stachurska, Tomasz Gierczak, and Magdalena Biesaga
2017 "Identification of Orcein and Selected Natural Dyes in 14th and 15th Century Liturgical Paraments with High-Performance Liquid Chromatography Coupled to the Electrospray Ionization Tandem Mass Spectrometry (HPLC-ESI/MS/MS)." *Microchemical Journal* 133 (July): 370–79. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.microc.2017.03.049.

Appendix fig. 1

APPENDIX
DYES USED IN THE JULIUS CAESAR TAPESTRY

NUMBER	COLOR	FRAGMENT	SUGGESTED DYE(S) PRESENT
1	Red	F1	Dyer's madder
2	Light brown	F1	Tannins
3	Darker face	F1	Tannins
4	Green	F1	Indigotin-containing dye, weld
5	Orange	F1	Dyer's madder, weld
6	Yellow	F1	Weld or dyer's broom
7	Dark red	F2	indigotin-containing dye
8	Purple-pink	F2	No colorants detected
9	Yellow	F2	Dyer's broom
10	Orange	F2	Dyer's madder, dyer's broom
11	Reddish brown	F2	Walnuts
12	Green	F3	Indigotin-containing dye, weld
13	VIL-visible dark blue	F3	Indigotin-containing dye, madder, luteolin-containing dye
14	Light blue	F3	Indigotin-containing dye
15	Purple-pink	F3	No colorants detected
16	VIL-visible turquoise	F3	Indigo carmine
17	Red	F3	Dyer's madder
18	Beige	F3	Tannins
19	Brown	F3	Tannins, lichen source
20	Purple-pink	F4	Orchil
21	VIL-visible dark blue	F4	Madder, degraded indigoid dye
22	Dark brown	F4	Weld, madder, tannins, lichen source
23	Dark blue	F4	Indigotin-containing dye, madder

NUMBER	COLOR	FRAGMENT	SUGGESTED DYE(S) PRESENT
24	Eagle brown	F4	Orchil, indigo carmine
25	Yellow	F4	Dyer's broom
26	Reddish brown	F4	Walnuts
27	Red	F4	Dyer's madder
28	Overpainted red	F4	Picric acid, alizarin, purpurin, Yellow 2G, Sudan I
29	Orange	F5	Dyer's madder, dyer's broom
30	Green	F5	Indigotin-containing dye, weld
31	Lighter face	F5	No colorants detected
32	Red	F5	Dyer's madder
33	Brown	F5	Tannins
34	Dark brown	F6	Tannins, indigotin-containing dye, lichen source, orchil (trace)
35	Yellow	F6	Weld or dyer's broom
36	Reddish brown	F6	Walnuts
37	Red	F6	Dyer's madder

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: front and back cover, p. 2

Women at the Altar of Jesus's Tomb in the Anastasis: Alinari Archives, Florence: fig. 13; Bibliothèque nationale de France: fig. 7; Garrucci 1880, pl. 434, fig. 6: photo by Ally Kateusz: figs. 4, 5; Photo © Governorate of the Vatican City State-Directorate of the Vatican Museums: fig. 6; Photo by Ally Kateusz: fig. 12; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Juan Trujillo: figs. 1–3; National Museum of Denmark: fig. 9; Scala / Art Resource, NY: fig. 11; A. Spani © Narbo Via: fig. 10

The Architecture of "Playe": Henry Hamlyn's House in Tudor Exeter: Reproduced by kind permission of Devon Archives & Local Studies: figs. 2, 8; Image from the collections of the Devon and Exeter Institution: figs. 1, 9; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 6, 7, 10–12; Musée de Morlaix: figs. 3, 5; © Victoria and Albert Museum, London: fig. 4

Ottoman Tastemaker Robert-Sadia Pardo and a Sixteenth-Century Prayer Rug in The Met: Ayşe Aldemir: fig. 2; *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 49, no. 285 (December 1926): xx: fig. 8; Hadiye Cangökçe: fig. 9; Image courtesy Directorate of State Archives, Istanbul: fig. 4; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 1; National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC: fig. 10; The Pardo family: fig. 3; Image courtesy Pingudu Müzayede: fig. 5; The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: figs. 6, 7

Wood and Stone: Bernard Palissy's Environmental Legacy: Barbier 1864, p. 278: fig. 9; Bibliothèque nationale de France: figs. 5, 6; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 2, 10; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Paul Lachenauer: fig. 1; © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY; figs. 3, 4, 8; Courtesy of Smithsonian Libraries and Archives: fig. 7

Oysters, Sauerkraut, and Pagods: Sibylla Augusta's Chinese Banquet of 1729: Kunstbibliothek Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Dietmar Katz: fig. 4; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 3, 5–10, 12, 15; Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg, photo by Antonio di Nunzio: figs. 2, 11, 13; Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg / A 4820 RES/ p. 267: fig. 14

For the Devotion of Juan Bautista de Echeverría: Piety and Identity in Paintings by Nicolás Enríquez: The Hispanic Society Museum & Library: fig. 3; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7–9; Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Calcografía Nacional, Madrid: fig. 6

Imperial Threads: Kashmiri Shawls in Nineteenth-Century Iran: Album on loan from the family of `Ali Khan Vali to Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University, image courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University: fig. 8; *Kashmir Shawls: Woven Art & Cultural Document: A Unique Collection of Indian Drawings Illustrating the Production of Kashmir Shawls, Commissioned for the 1867 Paris Exposition* (London: Kyburg Ltd, 1988), p. 23, Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Teri Aderman: fig. 6; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 4; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Katherine Dahab: figs. 1, 2a–d, 3, 5; © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Raphaël Chipault / Art Resource, NY: fig. 7; Rūznama-yi Dulat-i 'Ilīyi-yi Iran 1991–92, p. 392, photo by Nader Sayadi: fig. 9; National Museum of Asian Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: figs. 10, 11

***Julius Caesar* from the Heroes Tapestries at The Met Cloisters: Dye Analysis and Molecular Insights**: Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: figs. 1, 3, 4; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Rachel M. Lackner: Appendix fig. 1; Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, photo by Kisook Suh: figs. 2, 5, 6

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 59

ARTICLES

Women at the Altar of Jesus's Tomb in the Anastasis
Ally Kateusz

The Architecture of "Playe": Henry Hamlyn's House in Tudor Exeter
Melanie Holcomb

Ottoman Tastemaker Robert-Sadia Pardo and a Sixteenth-Century Prayer Rug in The Met
Ayşe Aldemir

Wood and Stone: Bernard Palissy's Environmental Legacy
Kelly Presutti

Oysters, Sauerkraut, and Pagods: Sibylla Augusta's Chinese Banquet of 1729
Kristel Smentek and Christian Katschmanowski

For the Devotion of Juan Bautista de Echeverría: Piety and Identity in Paintings by Nicolás Enríquez
Ronda Kasl

Imperial Threads: Kashmiri Shawls in Nineteenth-Century Iran
Nader Sayadi

RESEARCH NOTE

Julius Caesar from the Heroes Tapestries at The Met Cloisters: Dye Analysis and Molecular Insights
Rachel M. Lackner, Shirin Fozi, Kisook Suh

ISBN-13: 978-0226838526

9 780226 838526 90000

PRINTED IN ITALY